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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 326

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# CHINA REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOVIET MERCHANT MARINE, EXPANSIONISM DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 20-21

[Article by Fang Shu [2455 3990]: "The Tool of Soviet Expansion--the Merchant Marine"]

[Text] After Brezhnev came to power, while the USSR was continuing to expand their naval forces, they also rapidly built up their Merchant Marine fleet. This was not only due to needs in foreign trade, there were also other strategic objectives. The Soviet naval commander in chief, Gorshkov, publicly announced: "Our marine transport fleet serves many functions and should be regarded as an integral part of our national naval power. It plays an extremely important role during times of war and peace." At present, this huge Merchant Marine, which ranks 6th in the world, is already a significant force of the USSR in fighting for control of the seas and in carrying out Soviet expansion.

#### Its Four Characteristics

The development of the Merchant Marine has been rapid. In 1964 the USSR had a Merchant Marine of 1,674 ships with a gross tonnage of 6.95 million tons. (1 gross ton is equivalent to 1.14 in deadweight tonnage.) By 1979 it had already increased to 8,120 ships with a gross tonnage of 22.9 million tons. The USSR claims that the annual rate of increase of their Merchant Marine fleet is approximately 1 million gross tons.

The Merchant Marine has a high degree of self-sufficiency. In the past the Soviet ship building industry consistently gave priority to building naval vessels. The Merchant Marine primarily relied upon imports. In recent years and self-sufficiency of the Merchant Marine has steadily grown, so that at present 40 percent of the Merchant Marine is built in the USSR, 50 percent comes from East European nations and 10 percent is imported from the West.

The ships are fairly new. The average age of Merchant Marine transport ships is approximately 11 years, and the average age of oil tankers is approximately 12 years. Eighty-nine percent of the total number of ships are less than 20 years old, while in the United States only 40 percent are under 20 years old.

The Merchant Marine fleet is highly specialized. The Soviet Merchant Marine is mainly comprised of high tonnage cargo ships, barges, container ships and heavy duty transport ships. At present, about one-half of the ships have

special equipment installed. In April of last year, the USSR minister of maritime transport said that within the next 5 years the USSR Merchant Marine will have substantial growth, with emphasis on quality and on the further modernization of special ships. The deadweight tonnage of container ships has increased by 238 percent, and the deadweight tonnage of freighters has increased by 175 percent.

#### The Three Major Functions of the Merchant Marine

The Merchant Marine serves Soviet foreign expansion. At present, the USSR has become the second largest munitions merchant in the world, second only to the United States. Its Merchant Marine fleet is responsible for transporting munitions and strategic materials. They are called the "shadow fleet" by the West. During the African Ogaden War of 1979 and the current war between Iran and Iraq, the USSR made use of its Merchant Marine fleet to conduct large-scale maritime transport. Within a short period of time they transported as much as 10,000 tons of weaponry to recipient countries. They made a sizable profit and gained political and military advantages. The USSR still regards the Merchant Marine fleet as their signboard. They have signed all sorts of agreements with Third World countries for the use of ports and base areas. They have also acquired service rights. They have covertly sought overseas base areas and control of major international sea channels. In January of last year, after many setbacks, the USSR finally concluded two maritime transport agreements with Malta. They acquired the right for the Soviet Merchant Marine to anchor and refuel in this port. In order to find a foothold in the Strait of Malacca, which links the Pacific and Indian Oceans, the Soviet Merchant Marine frequently entered the strategic Singapore harbor, the eastern port of the Strait of Malacca. At present, every year about 1,000 Merchant Marine ships anchor and get serviced in this port. Flaunting the banners of "friendship," "trade" and "aid" the Soviet Merchant Marine has entered over 1,140 harbors in more than 120 countries. They work in close coordination with the Soviet navy in the major oceans of the world.

The Merchant Marine functions as a major naval reserve force. The USSR strongly emphasizes the role of the Merchant Marine as its navy's "immediate reserve force" during times of war and peace. They believe that in contemporary warfare their seagoing transport corps will undertake the mission of transporting principal military forces, heavy duty equipment, troop provisions and strategic materials to overseas war zones. They can then directly enter into the war by supplying water and electricity, blockading channels and ports, destroying harbor installations and sea transportation. During times of peace they can gather information for the navy and provide supplies to rear services. It is said that the oil tankers of the Soviet Merchant Marine are responsible for 75 percent of oil supplies to the Soviet navy. For example, providing oil supplies to the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean Sea is the responsibility of Merchant Marine tankers in the Black Sea and Soviet barges anchored in Syrian ports. In addition, the Soviet Merchant Marine is paramilitary in nature. The Soviet commander in chief of the navy has the authority to command the Merchant Marine. Personnel in the Merchant Marine must receive military training, so that whenever necessary, they can change into naval uniform.

Many naval officers and men are also on active service in the Merchant Marine. In the Merchant Marine much of the design and equipment of cargo ships have characteristics similar to those of naval auxiliary vessels, so it is easy to rapidly convert them for military use. Take for example the giant oceangoing container ships and the long-hold freighters which the USSR is striving to develop. Their external form and structure is similar to landing ships. They are fit for commercial use and can transport airplanes, artillery, tanks and even guided missiles. This large military shipment slips directly into the ship's hold. Upon arrival at their destination, they can immediately pull out of the freighter and go on land. It is said that not long ago the USSR provided Cuba with 17 MIG-21 fighter planes and 2 ships with guided missile patrol boats. They were transported by these cargo ships.

They have strategic maritime transport capability. Since the 1970's, as regards the trend of the development of the Soviet Merchant Marine, the most rapid growth can be seen in freighters and oil tankers with a gross tonnage of over 10,000 tons. They are adapted for European and Asian strategic and military sea transportation. In 1979 there were 410 oil tankers and freighters with a gross tonnage of 7.27 million tons, about 10.17 million in deadweight tonnage. It is predicted that by 1985 it may reach 492 ships with a gross tonnage of 8.98 million tons, about 12.57 million in deadweight tonnage. At present the Soviet's main shipping routes from Europe to the Far East are the southern route, the central route and the northern route. The southern shipping route goes from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, the Cape of Good Hope, the Strait of Malacca to Vladivostok, in all a trip of 16,000 nautical miles. According to Soviet calculations, present seagoing vessels sail 320 nautical miles every 24 hours. Therefore a one-way voyage would take 50 days. Every year they can make the round trip voyage 3-1/2 times, and they can transport over 17.8 million tons in deadweight tonnage. The central shipping route goes from the Black Sea to the Suez Canal, the Red Sea to Vladivostok, a journey of 9,200 nautical miles. A one-way trip takes 29 days. Each year they could make the round-trip voyage 6 times and transport 30 million tons in deadweight tonnage. The northern shipping route goes from Murmansk to the Arctic Ocean, the Bering Straits and then to Vladivostok. The journey is over 5,000 nautical miles, and a round-trip voyage can be made once a year, transporting over 2.7 million tons in deadweight tonnage. It is apparent that the USSR Merchant Marine has a strategic marine transport capability.

9864

CSO; 4005/884



## PARTY AND STATE

### PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SYSTEM AND THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Chen Yunsheng [7115 0061 3932], "Consolidate and Perfect the People's Congress System"]

[Text] The people's congress system is the fundamental political system of our country; it is the organizational form of our country's regime of people's democratic dictatorship. When we speak of the people's congress system we mean that according to the principle of democratic centralism the people of our country elect representatives who form the people's congresses and that the people exercise state power through these congresses. Article 2 of the Draft of the Revised Constitution clearly stipulates: "All political power of the PRC belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise the political power of the state are the National People's Congress and the local people's congresses at all levels." All other state organs throughout the country are created on the foundation of the people's congresses and are responsible to these congresses that all other state organs administer the affairs of the state. The people's congress system is therefore a system that combines a high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralism. It has infinite advantages and is a political system most suited to allow our people to exercise the right of being masters of their own affairs.

To further consolidate and perfect the people's congress system of our country, the Draft of the Revised Constitution introduces a number of new provisions which may be summarized as follows:

1. The organization and build-up of the NPC has been strengthened. This shows mainly in the following respects: The draft clearly fixes the term of office of the NPC. At least 2 months before the conclusion of the term of office of the NPC, the standing committee of the NPC must fix the election of the next NPC. The draft also changes the extremely lax provision of the 1978 Constitution that the term of office of the NPC can be extended or shortened, and instead prescribes that the term of office can only be extended under strict conditions, namely in extraordinary situations when elections have become impossible and subject to the approval of two-thirds of all members of the NPC Standing Committee, the extension to last until the first session of the subsequent NPC. The draft also clearly fixes the times of the NPC's sessions and abolishes the provision of the 1978 Constitution that the NPC "convene once every year," also that "in

case of necessity sessions may be moved up in date or deferred," as this is too indefinite a provision which is apt to harm the prestige of the NPC. Along with the reform of the state system, the powers of the NPC were broadened correspondingly, for instance, regarding the election of the state chairman and deputy chairman, the chairman of the Central Military Commission, etc. The draft also expands the powers of the NPC to enact laws and issue decrees, and prescribes that resolutions and decisions shall be issued in the form of laws and decrees, thus ensuring their authoritative nature. To enhance the work and increase efficiency, the draft establishes a number of additional special committees, such as the committee on financial and economic affairs, a committee on educational and scientific affairs, a committee on foreign affairs, etc. To enhance legislative work by the NPC, the draft also provides the right of legislative proposals for the NPC and its standing committee. The draft furthermore introduces new provisions governing the rights and duties of the NPC delegates. The delegates are to enjoy immunity and the right of inquiry, and on the other hand shall have the duty to maintain close contact with the unit from which they had originally been elected and with the people, so as to listen to, and reflect, the opinions and demands of the people. They shall also be duty-bound to give assistance to the implementation and enforcement of the constitution and all laws.

Furthermore, the organization and build-up of the NPC Standing Committee has been strengthened. To enable it to function most effectively, the draft constitution stipulates that members of the NPC Standing Committee may not hold positions in executive, judicial or procuratorial organs of the state. The committee chairman and the vice chairmen must not hold the office for more than 2 consecutive terms. Most importantly, the draft provides that the committee chairman, the vice chairmen and the secretary general form a chairman's conference which shall handle the important day-to-day work of the NPC Standing Committee. The draft also expands the authority of the NPC Standing Committee in having it exercise a part of the functions originally performed by the NPC. For instance, the standing committee will have legislative powers, the right of supervising the implementation of the constitution, the right to revoke administrative laws and regulations, resolutions and orders of the State Council, if they conflict with the constitution or other laws and decrees, as well as to revoke laws and regulations of local character and resolutions issued by provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities, etc. In view of the fact that the NPC Standing Committee is the permanent agency of the highest organ of the state and acts as its important working organization, strengthening the Standing Committee's organization and build-up and broadening its authority indeed amounts to a strengthening of the position and authority of the NPC.

2. The organization and build-up of local people's congresses and their standing committees at all levels has been strengthened. The draft constitution stipulates that delegates to the people's congresses in the counties, municipalities without wards, municipal-controlled wards, townships, minority townships and towns shall be elected directly by the people. The draft also stipulates that local people's congresses in counties and any other higher administrative units shall establish standing committees. The draft also broadens the powers of office of the local state organizations. It stipulates that the people's congresses and standing committees of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central authorities may enact regulations of a local



nature, as long as they do not conflict with the constitution, other laws, decrees, administrative laws and regulations. To strengthen the build-up of political power at the basic level, the draft constitution furthermore provides the reestablishment of a political power base in the villages and carries out a separation of government administration and commune management. The draft constitution also prescribes the establishment in the cities and villages, according to residential areas, of residents' committees or village committees as a basic self-government organization of mass character to assist the political powers at the basic level in effectively carrying out their work.

All the above-mentioned provisions of the Draft of the Revised Constitution are extremely meaningful. They will further consolidate and perfect our people's congress system, enhance our people's democracy and guarantee that our country's political power will be firmly in the hands of the people. They will guarantee that the people, "in various ways and forms, will administer the affairs of the state, administer economic and cultural undertakings and administer all social affairs." They will guarantee an improved exercise of power by the people as masters in their own house and will guarantee true control by the people of their state's destiny, of the destiny of their nation and of their own lives. The provisions will also bring into full play the important function of the state's organs of political power in our undertaking of the socialist modernization. Because of the above-mentioned concrete stipulations, the draft gives full expression of the position of replete power in the country's political life occupied by the people's congresses of all levels. The entire power of the state is firmly in the hands of the NPC. The NPC bestows all powers of office to all state organs, be they executive, judicial or procuratorial, and all these state organs must furthermore hold themselves responsible to the NPC and must accept the supervision by the NPC. In this manner the people's congresses at all levels and their standing committees will certainly be able to become extremely powerful forces of organization and mobilization and thus lead the people of the whole country in the triumphant realization of the magnificent goal of socialist modernization.

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CSO: 4005/986

## PARTY AND STATE

### EARNEST IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY POLICY STRESSED

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 2-3

[Article by Du Xianzhong [2629 7359 1813]: "Boost Morale, Vigorously Promote the Solid Style of Work"]

[Text] The call for boosting morale and vigorously promoting the solid style of work issued this year by the provincial party committee to party organizations at all levels and cadres throughout the province is an important guarantee for successful implementation of various plans in 1982.

Although our grand and brand-new program to build China into a modern socialist power remains in an exploratory stage, the Party Central Committee has clearly made available to us the basic guiding principles or major political guidelines for this program. At present, instead of waiting for any new directives on this matter, we must devote ourselves to implementing the Party Central Committee's line, principles and policies as quickly as possible, and must do so in a way that takes into consideration the actual local conditions so that we can make them produce results. Otherwise, no policy, however good it sounds, can escape the fate of becoming a piece of scrap paper. Stalin once explicitly pointed out: "Of course, our primary task is to formulate a correct policy. But what useful purpose could it serve, if it is shelved or distorted in the course of its implementation?" This statement further reminds us that our current primary task is to make vigorous efforts to promote the solid style of work.

Take our province for example. As a result of the readjustment of the national economy over the past 3 years, and on the basis of investigations and study, we have gained a further insight into advantages the national economy in our province enjoys, and have initially blazed a new trail in the direction of accelerating the tempo of socialist construction. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the provincial party committee has made clear the ideology guiding work in our province, major tasks to be fulfilled, and chief objectives to be achieved this year, and has laid out the "trunk line" and made necessary arrangements for all sectors of the economy. It can be said that right now all preparations have been made for the "east wind" to come. The term "east wind" here means action. This emphasis on the need to promote the solid style of work vigorously is suggested in response to our current actual attitude toward work. Although during the past several years party organizations at all levels and cadres throughout the province have made efforts to restore and carry forward the party's excellent

tradition and to improve their styles of leadership and work tremendously, they have spent more time talking than doing. This bureaucratic style of work which emphasizes talking rather than action has reached alarming proportions in some localities. Many tasks remain to be fulfilled even though meetings have been held, documents have been circulated and years have been spent on discussion. There are still some people who love only pomposity, vainglory and fame, and do not care about efficiency or the consequences that their behavior might bring; people who are interested only in meaningless debates, and have no intention of resolving the contradictions they face; people who confine their work to giving guiding principles, and never want to pay attention to efficiency of work. Another example is that although some people really want to get some work done, they cannot persistently concentrate on doing it, being under the influence of the dilatory bureaucratic style of work. With the passage of time, they have ended up getting nothing definitely done. If no efforts are made to change this situation, all beautiful dreams will remain dreams.

How can we concentrate on promoting the solid style of work? In light of the special characteristics of our current work, I would like to suggest that the following points command our attention:

First, the solid style of work can be promoted through organizational consolidation. Whether or not a task can be carried out depends on many factors. For example, if the leading body of a unit is not united and is in a state of disarray and weakness, no work is likely to be done on a solid basis; if the party cannot provide a sound style of work, and cadres cannot concentrate their energy on work, the work cannot be effectively done; the lack of a firm foundation for work, and of perfect relevant regulations can also cause a delay in its implementation. For this reason, in order to get our work solidly done, we must overcome and remove those unfavorable factors that stand in the way of its implementation. In other words, we must concentrate on organizational consolidation. The provincial party committee has named 1982 the year of organizational consolidation, which is essential to the simultaneous development of spiritual civilization and material civilization. The aim is to enhance the implementation of all work through organizational consolidation. At present, plans have been worked out and steps have been taken by our province to get the work of organizational consolidation off the ground. Particularly noteworthy is the rapid, dynamic and healthy development of a struggle against unlawful and criminal activities in the economic field throughout the province, which has been listed as one of our central tasks for this year in response to the unified plan of the Central Committee. Although organizational consolidation is a multipurpose measure to solve problems, its ultimate political aim is to bring about noticeable improvements, as quickly as possible, in the party's workstyle, social climate and social order, and its ultimate economic aim is to raise the level of return on investment. This is a very lofty goal to be reached. To attain this goal, we must effectively do a good job of organizational consolidation. Experiences drawn from various localities testify that leading bodies must be made the key targets of organizational consolidation. In the course of organizational consolidation, we must reshape and rebuild the leading bodies, ideologically and organizationally, and in terms of the style of work, rectify the party's workstyle, boost the morale of cadres, concentrate on promoting work on a solid basis. Only in this way can we provide a basis and guarantee for thorough implementation of work.

Second, we must come to grips with every work. We must devote ourselves to coming to grips with every work until it is truly and thoroughly implemented and produces results. We must have a strong sense of time in coming to grips with work. Time means speed, achievement and wealth. Something achieved in a matter of 1 day is clearly different from that achieved in a matter of 10 days. This is particularly true of the work of great urgency whose realization one day earlier than scheduled spells a big difference from its realization one day behind schedule. Its realization one day earlier is probably a boon and one day later a "disaster." For this reason, we must do everything as "early" as possible, and must never cease to move forward. Coming to grips with every work means carrying it through to the end. We must never stop moving forward and never feel satisfied until we reach our goal or destination. In coming to grips with work, we must constantly study the new situation and new problems that may come to our attention in the course of carrying out work, and we must take prompt and effective measures to solve them. If we fail to overcome the difficulties we may face from time to time, we may be forced to give it up when it is halfway through. In coming to grips with work, we must learn to play piano. In other words, we must be good at planning our work in a scientific way that takes into account the general needs when we focus our attention on a particular point. We can neither split and overstretch our strength nor lose sight of other points while focusing our attention on one point. Only in this way can we effectively carry out every task.

Third, it is necessary to establish the responsibility system at all levels. In addition to giving cadres ideological education and helping them strengthen their sense of commitment to the party's cause, we must institute a system designed to insure the thorough implementation of work. Establishing the departmental responsibility system at all levels is a good idea. In the past, an important reason that some tasks were left undone stems from our failure to define the responsibility for every individual and to commend those who did a good job and punish those whose performances were poor. With the departmental responsibility system in force, and with the responsibility clearly defined for every cadre, he can strengthen his sense of responsibility and contribute to the thorough implementation of work. Following the establishment of the responsibility system at all levels, every department and every individual will be given clearly defined responsibilities, and will feel dutybound, will be delegated power and will be held responsible for carrying out work. Particularly necessary is the establishment of the responsibility system for leading cadres who are in a position to take care of the overall situation or certain aspects of work. Only after the clearly defined responsibility system is established can their units effectively carry out their work and help those at lower levels perpetually consolidate similar systems. Only after government organizations and cadres at all levels have made clear their responsibility systems, holding every unit responsible for supervising those at lower levels, can they effectively carry out their work.

Fourth, examination and supervision are always necessary. Examination and supervision constitute an important measure for promoting the thorough implementation of work. Lenin once described the "examination and supervision of the implementation of work" as the "central task" of the people's committee, advocating that those found guilty of practicing the dilatory style of work deserved to be "lashed three times" on a regular basis. Just as Lenin once pointed.



out, an important reason that some work was left undone in the past stems from emphasis on planning and inattention to examination and supervision, and from our inability to understand what was really going on, what problems needed to be solved, and what was the outcome of our efforts. Last year, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that investigation, study, examination and supervision deserve first consideration by personnel on the staff of the leading organs in the execution of their work. This is another emphasis on the importance of examination and supervision which must be conducted under a well-defined system. As soon as a project is planned, it must be regularly or periodically checked under the supervision of an appropriate authority; it must be carried out at a controlled pace; efforts must be made to discover and solve problems that may arise from its implementation; its effectiveness must be inspected; at the end of its implementation, those who did a good job must be commended and those who performed poorly must be punished. Only by doing so can we insure a successful implementation of this project.

Fifth, we must change our style of work and keep in close touch with the basic level units. Whether a project can be thoroughly implemented depends largely on basic level performances, and depends on whether the leading organs have shifted the focus of their work to the basic level performances. In the course of carrying out a project, a lot of organizational work must be done. This is a very complicated process involving technical details. Leading organs and leading cadres must devote no more than 10 percent of their time and work force to planning, and more than 90 percent of their time and work force to conducting investigations and study, and to keeping watch over and guiding the thorough implementation of the party's principles and policies. Doing so calls for cutting down the number of meetings and circulation of documents, and for cadres to spend more time with the basic level units so that they can keep in touch with reality, and discover and solve problems. At present, a large number of leading comrades on the Party Central Committee, in the State Council and in other departments have done just that. Leading comrades in our province have also spent time on the forefront of production conducting investigations and study, summing up typical experiences, giving personal attention to all matters of public concern and directing organizations at all levels to implement work. This approach has produced very good results and therefore, is worthy of our emulation.

Sixth, while concentrating on implementing work, we must skillfully analyze the actual situation of every specific locality, department and unit, and we must proceed with our work from the realistic point of view. In implementing the instructions, resolutions and policies of the higher authorities from the realistic point of view, one must work energetically and intelligently to analyze the real situation in one's locality. Lenin once said: "One must be armed with a brain in order to enable one to analyze and evaluate different situations." If one just parrots what others say, and follows them blindly, and if one fails to put one's brain to work in the course of analyzing the complicated situation, one is apt to hit a snag, and is bound to commit mistakes and end up delaying the implementation of one's project. At present, the Party Central Committee has asked cadres at all levels to line up behind its political stand and to demonstrate flexibility in the execution of their work. Only by combining principle with flexibility can we carry out work in a better way.

Promoting the solid style of work is a matter of action. It is not only a matter of action but also a matter of fundamental importance to our cause and the cultivation of party character with a sense of responsibility. Only a man with a sense of dedication and commitment to our party's cause can exhibit a high sense of responsibility, of concern for the implementation of work and achieve good results in this field. Only a man with a sense of dedication and commitment to his work can bring his initiative and active and creative role into play, seek truth from facts, do everything on a solid basis, and make our work truly reap fruit.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MAO'S THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS OUTLINED

Shenyang LIAONING DAXUE XUEBAO in Chinese No 3, 1982 p 3-8

[Text] The theory of basic social contradictions is the cornerstone of historical materialism. It revealed the motive force behind the social development of mankind. Comrade Mao Zedong used this theory in China's revolution and construction. When solving the theoretical and practical problems brought out in China's revolution and construction, he enriched and developed the theory of basic social contradictions.

1

Comrade Mao Zedong Brought Up the Scientific Concept of Basic Social Contradictions

The theory of basic social contradictions was first established by Marx and Engels. When carrying out research on the historical course of capitalist society, they saw the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production and the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure that it produces. In his "Preface to 'Critique of Political Economics'" Marx made a classic exposition of these contradictions. This led to the establishment of his theory of basic social contradictions.

Lenin defended this theory of Marx's. He divided social relationships into material relationships and ideological cultural relationships, and scientifically explained the formation of society. Moreover, he further pointed out that only on the level of explaining social relationships as part of the relations of production which in turn are considered in terms of productive forces could we obtain reliable evidence to enable us to view social development as a natural historical process; and could we overturn "the notion that society can be arbitrarily changed in response to the will of officials, that production and changing and inflexible individuals combine by chance."<sup>1</sup>

Mao Zedong recognized, as did Marx and Lenin, that the laws of social development must be sought in social production itself and in society's internal contradictions. In "On Contradictions," he pointed out that: according to the concepts of materialist dialectics, social change is primarily due to the development of internal social contradictions, that is the contradictions between

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 1, p 10



the productive forces and the relations of production, between the classes and between the old and the new. The development of these contradictions prompts the advance of society. Comrade Mao Zedong began with China--this semi-colonial, semi-feudal society--and penetratingly studied the internal contradictions in Chinese society, that is the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the masses and imperialist, feudal power, and he developed the unique laws of the Chinese revolution. Moreover, under historical conditions, he fostered Marx's theory of basic social contradictions. In his work, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he characterized the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure as basic social contradictions and clearly indicated that it was the basic social contradictions that fueled our progressive social development, and in this he revealed that basic social contradictions are the general source of all social contradictions.

The contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure are the basic social contradictions. This is determined by the unique characteristics in which the society of mankind differs from the natural world. Man participates in all social activities. The process of the development of social history is formed in the activities of man. Productive forces are the abilities by which men conquer and alter nature. Comrade Mao Zedong said: there are two elements to productive forces. One is tools and the other is the people who use the tools to carry out production. All production is carried out under specific relations of production. "In a classless society, every individual as a member of society joins forces with other members of society to form specific relations of production and carry out production activities in order to solve mankind's problems in material life. In a class society, the social members of each class, each with its own different style, form specific relations of production and carry out production activities in order to solve mankind's problems in material life."<sup>1</sup> The relations of production are the form of social production and are determined by the productive forces. Certain kinds of productive forces lead to certain kinds of relations of production, and the development of productive forces will always bring about a change in the relations of production; of course, the relations of production also have a reactive influence on the productive forces. Relations of production that are suited to the condition of productive forces will hasten the development of the productive forces, while relations of production which are ill suited to productive forces will hinder the development of those productive forces. Therefore, in carrying out production of material goods, there exists an inevitable internal basic connection between the productive forces and the relations of production; and this inevitable connection cannot be wilfully altered. But social activities are numerous and complex and social relations come in many forms. In addition to production activities, people also engage in political and cultural activities. And people in their own lives always consciously carry out activities in accordance with their own goals while guided by a specific ideology. Therefore, a specific ideological-cultural relationship is formed. This relationship is formed on the foundation of relations between people. This is the superstructure. Comrade Mao Zedong said:

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 260

"The superstructure is a kind of social relationship. The superstructure is built on the economic foundation"<sup>1</sup> of society's ideological-cultural relationships. Without these relationships--with only material social relations between people--society cannot be formed. Because of this, in addition to the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, there is the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The so-called economic base is the relations of production--primarily the system of ownership."<sup>2</sup> The superstructure is the political and legal systems and social ideology built on the economic base. Because the superstructure is always the reflection of the economic base of a specific society, it in turn serves this base; a change in the economic base will result in a definite corresponding change, which may come about quickly or slowly, in the superstructure. Therefore, this basic, inevitable connection between the economic base and the superstructure cannot be arbitrarily altered. Comrade Mao Zedong based his ideas on the special characteristics of human society that differ from the natural world, summarized the contradictions between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure which run through all society as the basic social contradictions, and indicated that these basic contradictions determine and restrict all aspects, processes and developments of each stage of society, regulate and influence the existence and development of other social contradictions and determine the social nature and the direction of each stage of development. This is true of socialist society, it was true of its forerunner societies, and it will even be true of future communist society.

But the contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production and the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure are not really parallel, and determining their interrelated functions requires some precise calculation. We absolutely cannot place these two contradictions on the same level, and even less can consider the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure to be more basic than that between the productive forces and the relations of production. If we view them as equal, or view the contradiction between the economic base and the superstructure as more basic than that between the productive forces and the relations of production, then we cannot help but make mistakes in practice.

2

Comrade Mao Zedong Especially Emphasized the Tremendous Interaction Between the Superstructure and the Economic Base and Between the Relations of Production and the Productive Forces, and Brought Up Its Primary Decisive Role Under Specific Conditions

When establishing the theory of basic social contradictions, the primary task before Marx and Engels was to oppose idealism, especially historical idealism. In order to refute the idealist conception of history, they still had to stress the major historical materialist principles of the productive forces determining the relations of production and the economic base determining the superstructure,

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 310

<sup>2</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 310

principles which were denied by historical idealism. They said: "In the final analysis, the decisive element in the course of history is production and reproduction in actual life."<sup>1</sup> It leads to social development and is the ultimate cause of class struggle and the change of social systems. Later, some people attacked Marx's theory as being "a doctrine of economic determinism." In refuting such attacks, Engels said: "If a person twists this around and says that economic factors are the sole determining factors, then he renders the proposition meaningless, abstract and preposterous."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, they spoke of the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and especially of the "mutual interaction" of the two. They said: "Economic activity opens roads for a person, but it also must feel the reaction of the reaction of the correspondingly independent political activity that it itself creates, that is the reaction of the power of the state and the actions of the opposition factions that are produced when the activity begins."<sup>3</sup> They also asked: "If political authority is powerless economically, then why should we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat?"<sup>4</sup> And they further pointed out that: "The entire great development process is carried out in the form of interrelated functions (although the strength of the interrelated functions is quite unbalanced: economic functions are the strongest by far, are the most primitive and are the most decisive). In this there are no absolutes. Everything is relative."

Lenin also pointed out that: "Politics is a concentrated expression of economics," and "politics must occupy the first position in comparison with economics."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, he clearly indicated that: "an heroic pioneering spirit" "frequently plays the decisive role."<sup>6</sup> The heroic pioneering spirit of which Lenin spoke is the spirit of bitter struggle and heroic sacrifice on the part of communist party members and progressive elements, a laboring spirit of working selflessly for the good of all without thought of reward. After the October Revolution, Soviet Russia faced this sort of cyclical dilemma: wanting to raise labor productivity, they needed to eliminate hunger, but eliminating hunger required raising labor productivity. How, in the end, can one solve this sort of contradiction? Lenin said: "In practice, this sort of contradiction must be solved by relying on a break in the cycle, a change in the mood of the masses, and the heroic pioneering spirit of individual groups, and the pioneering spirit in this kind of turn about frequently plays a decisive role."<sup>7</sup> This is to say that this pioneering spirit, under the special conditions of Soviet Russia at that time, played a decisive role in turning around that dangerous situation.

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1 "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 4, p 477, 482

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*

4 *ibid.*

5 "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 4, p 441

6 *ibid.*, p 15

7 "Selected Works of Lenin," vol. 4, p 15



On the foundation of the discourses of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the principles in which, under specific conditions, the primary decisive role is played by the superstructure over the economic base and the relations of production over the productive forces. In "On Contradiction," he pointed out that: the forces of production and the economic base ordinarily play the major decisive role, and anyone who fails to admit this is not a materialist. But, the relations of production and the superstructure, "under specific conditions," can change and play the major decisive roles, and this must be admitted. "When productive forces cannot develop without a change in the relations of production, then the relations of production play the major decisive role." "When the politics and culture of the superstructure obstruct the development of the economic base, then political and cultural reform becomes the decisive thing."<sup>1</sup>

The principle of Comrade Mao Zedong that, under specific conditions, the superstructure and the relations of production can play the decisive roles refers--under the premise of admitting that the productive forces determine the relations of production and the economic base determines the superstructure--to the reactive influence of the relations of production and the superstructure. He said: "We admit that in general historical development material things determine spiritual things, that the existence of society determines the consciousness of society; but at the same time, we also recognize and must admit the reactive influence of spiritual things, the reaction of social consciousness on the existence of society and of the superstructure on the economic base."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, we feel that this principle of Comrade Mao Zedong is not promoting idealism, but rather is fostering the idea of Marx and Lenin concerning the interactive effects between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, and is especially fostering Lenin's idea that the heroic pioneering spirit "frequently plays a decisive role." It is an important contribution to historical materialism.

The "superstructure determinist doctrine" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" flew under the banner of "dialectics," and using the excuse of stressing reaction, these people took the idea of the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base and of the relations of production on the productive forces to an extreme, believing that people could do as they wished in carrying out so-called reform and improvement of the superstructure and the relations of production. And they expanded the notion "under specific conditions" into "the entire historical stage of socialism," believing the relations of production and the superstructure play the major decisive roles from beginning to end in their interaction with the productive forces and the economic base, and basically denying that the productive forces determine the relations of production and that the economic base determines the superstructure.

This fallacy of theirs and what Comrade Mao Zedong spoke of concerning situations in which the productive forces cannot develop without a change in the relations of production and the economic base is obstructed in its development when there is no change in the superstructure so that change in the relations of production and reform of the superstructure play the decisive roles in bringing about development of the productive forces and the economic base are not the same.

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) pp 300-301

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

Comrade Mao Zedong Systematically Summarized the Historical Experience of the International Communist Movement and Brought Up the Theory of Basic Contradictions in Socialist Society

When Marx was investigating the coming collapse of capitalism and the future development of communism, he clearly indicated that: socialist society "has not developed on a foundation of itself, but, just the contrary, was produced out of capitalist society. Because of this, in all its aspects, in its economic, moral and spiritual aspects, it remains the vestiges of the old society that were present at its birth."<sup>1</sup> In essence, this points out the problem of internal contradictions in socialist society. But, because at that time there was no proletarian revolutionary victory in practice, the problem of basic contradictions in socialist society was not concretely and realistically before them, Marx and Engels could only expound on them in principle.

In accordance with this idea of Marx's, Lenin pointed out that "under the socialist system, resistance is destroyed, but contradictions still exist."<sup>2</sup> He also discussed in detail the two features of economic structure that exist concurrently during the transition period from capitalism to communism. But, because Lenin died too soon, he didn't personally see the victory of socialist reform of the private ownership of the means of production, and therefore he couldn't make a concrete examination of the basic contradictions in socialist society.

Stalin carried on Lenin's task, leading the Soviet people to realize socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, but because he did not admit in theory that contradictions would exist in the Soviet Union after agricultural collectivization took place, for quite a long period of time he one-sidedly believed that the productive forces and the relations of production, as well as the economic base and the superstructure, were already "completely compatible" and free of contradictions. Even though, in the year prior to his death, he had already spoken of contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces under the socialist system, he "still did not speak of the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base as comprehensive problems, and he still did not consider these contradictions to be basic contradictions that fueled progressive development in socialist society."<sup>3</sup> This notion of Stalin's not only affected the Soviet Union, but also influenced the international communist movement.

In accordance with Lenin's discourses, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically summarized the historical experience of the international communist movement, profoundly analyzed the contradictions in socialist society, and pointed out that: "Some people say that contradictions can be 'found' in socialist society, but I see this as incorrect. It is not a matter of finding or not finding contradictions--it is full of contradictions."<sup>4</sup> This is a basic denial of the metaphysical notion that socialist society has no contradictions. Moreover, he

<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 3, p 10

<sup>2</sup> "Lenin: 'Critique of Bukharin's Book, 'The Economy of the Transition Period','" People's Publishers, 1958, p 13

<sup>3</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 356

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, p 498

clearly indicated: "In socialist society, the basic contradictions remain those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. However, these contradictions in socialist society are basically different in nature and condition from the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in the old society."<sup>1</sup>

Comrade Mao Zedong first expounded on the situation of the two aspects of the basic contradictions of socialist society being both mutually suited to one another and mutually contradictory. He pointed out that: the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces in socialist society and that between the economic base and the superstructure are such that the two aspects of each are both mutually suitable and mutually contradictory, and this basic contradiction is very complex. The victory of the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production established the economic base of socialism. But, the relations of production of the old capitalism were not completely destroyed. The remnants of the capitalist economic base have continued to exist for quite a long period of time. Therefore, in socialist society, in addition to socialist relations of production which occupy the dominant position, there remain the remnants of the old capitalist relations of production, which is to say also that in addition to the socialist economic base, there remain the remnants (or fragments) of the capitalist economic base. They are all things that exist in socialist society and all necessarily involve contradictions with the productive forces of society.

The political and legal systems of a state that is a people's democratic dictatorship is established after the proletariat seizes political power. But the state of bourgeois consciousness that comprises the capitalist superstructure, because of its relative independence, does not immediately undergo complete transformation in line with the change in the economic base. Therefore, in socialist society, in addition to the socialist superstructure which occupies the dominant position, there are remnants of the capitalist superstructure, and there remain in our nation the remnants of feudalist superstructure. These two superstructures, that is the socialist superstructure and the remnants of the capitalist superstructure (and in our nation the remaining feudal consciousness), both exist in socialist society and both are in contradiction with the socialist economic base. And exactly because of this, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The existence of a bourgeois consciousness, the existence of certain bureaucratic workstyles in state organs and the existence of flaws in certain sectors of the state system are also in contradiction with the socialist economic base."<sup>2</sup>

In our nation, a striking expression of the basic contradictions in socialist society is the contradiction between the low level of the productive forces and the needs of the state and the people. This contradiction became more pronounced after the basic completion of the socialist reform of the system of private

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 373

<sup>2</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 374



ownership of the means of production. Comrade Mao Zedong said that the backwardness of China's economy and the weakness of its material base have kept us in a passive state and that spiritually we feel constrained, and that, in that respect, we are not yet liberated. Especially as the socialist system of our nation remains in its period of infancy and the present socialist relations of production are still imperfect, these imperfect aspects are in contradiction with the development of the productive forces. There exist problems of incompatibility with the development of the productive forces of society in our dealing with the problem of handling relations between every sector of the national economy in a proportionate way, in the relations between accumulation and consumption, in management and administration, and in certain sections of the distribution system. Because of this, it is necessary that our party and state frequently adjust certain links in the relations of production that are ill-suited to the development of the productive forces in order to hasten such development. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Party, beginning with the many different levels of the productive forces of our nation at present, adopted a series of relaxed economic policies, corrected the past mistakes of ignoring national conditions and one-sidedly stressing "larger in size and more collective in nature, of believing that the higher the level of public ownership the better, and of being "anxious to move toward communism" by continually changing the relations of production, made some necessary adjustments in the relations of agricultural production--respecting the right of self direction of production teams and implementing various systems of production responsibility--and raised the production initiative of the vast peasants so that the productive forces of agriculture were again liberated. At the same time, it changed the erroneous tendencies of the past toward unrealistically high production rates and targets and toward forcing development of productive forces because of being "anxious to obtain results." These adjustments have hastened the development of the present productive forces of our nation. In the area of the political system, the striking problems are the lack of complete socialist democracy and a complete legal system. Both democratic forms and the extension of the depth and breadth of democracy have been greatly limited, and this has greatly influenced the development of the initiative of the broad masses. The socialist system of our nation is still in its infancy and the political system still has many imperfections--this is especially true of the socialist legal system--and this affects the development of the initiative of the people in exercising their democratic rights. The cadre system of our nation requires urgent reform. In order to prevent party and state workers from changing from public "servants" into the "masters" of the masses and to guarantee the democratic rights of the masses, we must systematize and codify democracy and properly handle the relations between democracy and centralism and between freedom and discipline. In terms of states of consciousness, among a large number of party members and leading state cadres, there remain serious bourgeois and even feudal ideological influences and notions of bureaucratism, special privilege, adherence to old ways and daring nothing, which seriously obstruct the consolidation of the socialist economic base and the development of the productive forces; among a portion of the people, there exists the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization--an anarchist tide is especially prevalent among the youths in this group--which seriously threatens the consolidation of the socialist system. Along with the expansion of international contacts and the situation in which our nation has opened up and broken out of its long standing "isolation," the influence and subversive effects of bourgeois consciousness will develop and increase, and we must pay due attention to this.



Secondly, in accordance with the discourses of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the basic contradictions in socialist society are different in nature and character from the contradictions in the old society.

Old China was a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. The bureaucratic capitalist class and the landlord class "represented the most backward and reactionary relations of production in China and hindered the development of China's productive forces."<sup>1</sup> This antagonistic contradiction between the rotten relations of production and the productive forces was manifested in the life and death struggle between the masses led by the working class and the three great enemies [imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism]. The reactionary superstructure also exerted great pressure in supporting these rotten relations of production, and, because of this, in wanting to solve the basic social contradictions of old China, it was necessary to use violence to overthrow the reactionary political forces in order to change the rotten relations of production. In order to solve the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base in old China, the Chinese people, under the leadership of the CCP, struggled bravely for 28 years and finally obtained victory in 1949. After new China was established, on the one hand, in the cities, we seized bureaucratic capital and turned it into a state run economy, and on the other hand, in rural areas we carried out land reform, taking the land from the landowners who had it and distributing it to the peasants who had little or no land. This brought about a basic change in the relations of production and greatly liberated productive forces. In 1956, our nation achieved victory in the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production and established socialist relations of production. This marked the complete establishment of the socialist economic base of our nation. Because of the establishment of state ownership of the means of production, the carrying out of distribution according to labor and elimination of exploitation, the nature of the basic contradictions in society underwent a basic change. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The contradictions in socialist society are basically different from those in the old society, such as the contradictions in capitalist society."<sup>2</sup> They are no longer antagonistic, but rather belong to the category of non-antagonistic contradictions among the masses which rest on the foundation of common basic interests. These contradictions between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces and between the socialist superstructure and the socialist economic base which occupy the dominant positions are the main body of the basic social contradictions in socialist society, the laboring masses in industry and agriculture are an important element of the productive forces and are also the main body of the relations of production and the superstructure which is established on this base and is guided by Marxism-Leninism protects the people, and therefore, the compatibility of the basic contradictions is basic and primary and their contradiction is secondary. These contradictions can be continually resolved by the socialist system itself. Because of this, the basic economic and political systems in socialist society are conducive to the development of the productive forces and are of unmatched superiority. That which hinders the consolidation of the socialist economic base and the development of the productive forces does

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 4

<sup>2</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 372

not originate in the socialist system, but is created by incomplete links in certain of the concrete or fundamental systems and by the remnants of the old societies. These features of the basic contradictions in socialist society are a central expression of the superiority of the socialist system. From this it can be seen that saying that the socialist system is superior is not to say that these basic contradictions that universally exist in the societies of mankind have been eliminated, but rather is to say that these basic contradictions in socialist society are different in nature from those of the old societies and that they can be continually and actively solved by the socialist system itself. The socialist system is being consolidated in the midst of continually solving these basic contradictions, and socialist nations are advancing in situations in which both compatibility and contradiction exist between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure. And it was just for this reason that Comrade Mao Zedong reached the scientific conclusion that "only socialism can save China."

4

Comrade Mao Zedong's Fostering of Revolution Was the Ideology of Liberating Productive Forces and Moreover He Used the Question of Whether or Not Something Hastened the Development of the Productive Forces to Be the Basic Measure of the Value of All Government and Party Activities

Marx said: "Production, in the final analysis, is the decisive thing."<sup>1</sup> Comrade Mao Zedong promoted this idea of Marx's and pointed out that production is the most basic practical activity of mankind and is that which determines everything else. As early as the democratic revolutionary period of our nation, he stressed the development of productive forces, saying: "The revolutionary task of the new democracy...is to change the comprador, feudal relations of production and to liberate the constrained productive forces."<sup>2</sup> And we must take the matter of whether or not something hastens the development of the productive forces to be the basic measure of the value and importance of all government and party actions. He said: "The value and importance of all China's governmental and party policies and their outcomes in practice among the Chinese people, in the final analysis, are determined by seeing how and to what extent they aid the development of the productive forces of the Chinese people, by seeing whether they constrain or liberate productive forces."<sup>3</sup> After the proletariat seized political power, and especially after the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production, he also said: "Our basic task has already switched from liberating the productive forces to protecting and developing the productive forces under the new relations of production."<sup>4</sup> This is because the development of the productive forces in this period is not purely an economic matter, but relates to the important political question of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. Lenin said that: after the proletariat seizes political power, the matters of the development of the productive forces and of economic construction are not merely economic

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol. 4, p 481

<sup>2</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," (single volume) p 1150

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p 980

<sup>4</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 377

matters, but more importantly are related to the important political question of whether or not the dictatorship of the proletariat can be consolidated. Therefore, after the establishment of the nation, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly emphasized the development of the productive forces. He pointed out that, after the proletariat seized political power, only through "the relatively complete development of society's productive forces could we consider our socialist economic and political systems to have achieved their own relatively complete material base (at present this material base is far from complete), and could our nation (the superstructure) be considered fully consolidated."<sup>1</sup> After the socialist reform of the system of private ownership of the means of production in our nation was completed, he immediately brought out the strategic idea that the focal point of the work of the entire party had changed. In order to realize the protection and development of the productive forces under the new relations of production, he felt that we must correctly handle the contradictions within the ranks of the people to make it easier to unite the peoples of the entire nation in carrying out a new war--a war against the natural world--struggling to develop our economy and culture and to build our nation, as quickly as possible, into a great socialist state with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture. But he did not maintain this correct notion to the end. In his later years he suggested that the major contradictions in our society remained those between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and he centered our attention on class struggle and on revolution in the realm of the superstructure and committed the error of expanding class struggle. In particular, in accordance with his erroneous theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he developed the "Great Cultural Revolution" which kept the focus of the work of the entire party away from economic construction for a long period. And we must add to this the interference and sabotage of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing cliques which seriously affected the development of the superiority of the socialist system of our nation and slowed the development of our productive forces. This lesson is worth remembering forever.

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<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol. 5, p 462

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ATTENTION GIVEN TO CADRE REFORM

#### Constitutional Reforms

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Li Li [2621 6091]: "Legal Guarantee for Reforming the Cadre System"]

[Text] The draft of the revised constitution clearly provides that "continuation in office shall not exceed two terms" in the case of the chairman and vice chairman of the state, chairman and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, chairman of the Military Commission, president of the Supreme People's Court, the chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, premier and vice premier of the State Council and commissioners of state and other similar state leaders. This is something the three past constitutions did not have. It provides a solemn legal guarantee for reforming and perfecting our state leadership system and repealing the life tenure of leadership roles that actually have existed in the past.

The fact that life tenure of leadership roles took shape in such a socialist state as ours is due to multifarious causes. During the early period after the founding of our state, that large contingent of party, government, and military core cadres who were trained through hard and dented revolutionary struggle were mostly in their able and vigorous years. It was only natural that they should shoulder the leadership tasks at the various central and local levels, and they were also deeply trusted and supported by the masses of the people. The problem is that, along with the development of our socialist enterprises of construction, we failed to establish and perfect in time a cadre system suited to the socialist form of state and government, we failed to formulate and perfect laws and regulations such as those concerning election, supervision, reward and punishment, retirement, etc. During the mid-1950's, our party acquired some understanding in respect to this problem and also began to consider the question of repealing the life tenure system of our party and state leadership offices. But changes took place in the situation later on, and this consideration became pigeonholed indefinitely. On the other hand, even though our people's democratic dictatorship carried out in principle very extensive democracy, but because our social productive forces were not developed and our cultural level was backward, we lacked the material foundation for the masses direct supervision and management of the



state by the people; especially because of the influence of remnant feudalistic ideas, all this served to provide a historical possibility for the emergence of the life tenure of leadership roles.

This life tenure leadership system is fraught with serious flaws. First of all, when the state's supreme office of leadership is not limited in its term of service, the individual occupant's power is liable to escape the supervision and control by the masses of the people and the collective leadership, leading to a situation in which the individual's power reigns above the will of the people as well as the party in power itself. Once the system of democratic centralism is spoiled, individual misconduct can hardly be corrected; this often brings about long-term, overall damage. Such is the experience and lesson which we have gained at a very great price after the founding of our state. Secondly, the life tenure of the supreme leadership office has led to life tenure in the entire ranks of the leading cadres; this has resulted in the ranks of the leading cadres only admitting new members and not letting anybody out so that no possibility for normal replacement of the old by the new or exchanges exists. This has in turn resulted in the progressive aging of all the cadres, thereby suppressing the growth of young and able talents and affecting measures to place more revolutionary, professional, knowledgeable and younger cadres. Thirdly, the aforesaid situations tend also to result in institutions becoming overstaffed, with personnel outnumbering offices, mutual wrangling, and low administrative efficiency. Meanwhile, it is also easier for bureaucratism and the bad work style of deviation from the masses to grow, which in turn affects the prestige of the party and the government among the masses of the people. Marxism holds that all the power of a socialist state belongs to the people. The most fundamental content of socialist democracy is that the masses of the people enjoy the right to manage state affairs. Although at the beginning of the founding of our state, because of limitation by existing conditions, we were unable to implement the practice of letting the masses of the people manage state affairs directly and could only have part of the advanced segment of the proletariat exercise such a state-managing function on their behalf, we should clearly realize that this is the power conferred upon us by the people and we should make use of this power in the process of building socialism; actively to create conditions so as to "systematically attract more and more citizens, ultimately all citizens, to directly and regularly shoulder the heavy tasks of state management" ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 27 pp 142-143). But the life tenure of the leadership offices deviates from the state theory of Marxism precisely on this point. For this reason, the 4th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee put forward the question of repealing the life tenure of the offices of the leading cadres. After that, the party Central Committee took this as the primary task in our fundamental reform of the cadre system and the leadership system and carried out a series of hard and careful tasks. This draft of the revised constitution explicitly provides the limitation and number of terms the state's supreme leader can serve and remain in office and repeals the life tenure of the supreme leader in office; this in essence also declares the repeal of the life tenure of all leadership offices and therefore tallies completely with the fundamental principles of Marxism and the will of the people. It has provided us with a reliable guarantee as we endeavor from

now on to follow the authority of the Constitution and its supreme legality in carrying out the reform of our state leadership system in a guided, step-by-step, and orderly manner, and in strengthening and perfecting our state system of people's democratic dictatorship.

#### Managing, Serving Retired Cadres

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Chunpu [7115 2504 2528] and Gu Zhongcheng [6253 1813 6134]: "Yanggu County Party Committee Pays Attention to the Task of Managing and Serving Separated and Retired Cadres; More Than 1,900 Separated and Retired Cadres Enjoy Pleasant State of Mind and Continue To Make Contributions to the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Yanggu County party committee has earnestly strengthened its work in managing and serving separated and retired cadres and enabled the county's more than 1,900 separated and retired cadres to enjoy a pleasant state of mind and happily spend their latter years in peace.

In order to do a good job in managing and serving separated and retired cadres, the county party committee first of all adopted certain measures organizationally so as to guarantee that separated and retired cadres enjoy the kind of political treatment they deserve. An old cadres management leading group was established, and the organization department also especially set up an old cadres section to take the concrete responsibility of the separated and retired cadres' study and ideological work. In the county's 19 communes and units directly under the county's jurisdiction were also established corresponding management organs. They have had the county's separated and retired cadres all organized, creating 20 party branches, 104 party cells or study groups and establishing their normal organizational life and daily study system so as to enable separated and retired cadres to understand in time the party Central Committee's various principles and policies and catch up with the continuously developing situation.

Yanggu County party committee has also sought by all means to provide separated and retired cadres with amenities in their life and help them solve difficulties surrounding housing, securing of medical facilities, livelihood, arrangements for their children, etc. In respect to housing, all separated and retired cadres who return to their old homes to live are entrusted to the communes and production brigades of their native areas to arrange homesteads for them on a priority basis; those who live in cities and towns along with their children are given priority as to housing over in-service cadres of the same level. In respect to going to medical clinics to get treatment, the county has also taken out 40,000 yuan from local financial resources to plan the building of 15 additional patient rooms for old cadres in the hospital. With respect to the eight separated and retired old cadres who cannot handle their own daily chores in life, the county issues to them a given sum for nursing fees each month. The county's public health departments have also established roving medical service groups for old cadres to bring medical personnel to the doors of separated and retired old cadres at fixed intervals. In the recruitment of workers, conscription, and employment, where conditions are

equal, priority is given to their children when arrangements are made. With respect to certain commodities short or lacking in supply, the county's commercial and supply departments have issued priority supply certificates to the separated and retired old cadres; at New Year and other festive occasions, these departments simply go to their doors to supply them with such provisions.

Because the Yanggu party committee's management work has been carried out in a very careful way and its services are competently provided, this contingent of separated and retired old cadres are enabled to continue to play their roles in the construction of the four modernizations: (1) in carrying out education among the vast ranks of the cadres and masses with their personal experience on the party's fine traditions and work styles. They regularly visit government organs and schools and administer to youths and children lessons in loving the motherland, loving socialism, and loving the collective and hard struggle, thereby passing on the party's fine traditions to the younger generation. (2) In actively assisting local party organizations to handle the people's letters and visits and mediate civil disputes. All of the county's 19 communes have established retired cadres letter-writing and visiting groups to handle large batches of piled up files. (3) In taking the initiative to help party organizations at various levels to manage well party work style and party discipline. Certain separated and retired cadres with much prestige regularly get themselves closely involved with investigations so as to achieve understanding and put forward in time concrete measures and suggestions for party organizations to improve party work style. (4) In suggesting ideas and serving as advisers to local cadres and masses with full enthusiasm, or doing whatever work they still can.

9255

CSO: 4005/937



## PARTY AND STATE

### PROVINCIAL PROPAGANDA MEETING ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Weiye [7115 0251 2814], "The Symposium of Heads of Prefectural and Municipal Propaganda Departments and Secretaries of Youth Leagues and CCP Committees Throughout the Province Emphatically Called for the Launching of a Sustained and Penetrating 'Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty' Movement and for the Use of Communist Ideology and Morality in the Education of the People"]

[Text] Educating the people with communist ideology and morality is the major substance in our drive to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and it is the key link in launching penetrating "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities. This was the important subject of discussion at the symposium of heads of prefectural and municipal propaganda departments and secretaries of youth leagues and CCP committees of the entire province held 20-29 May.

During the meetings, important speeches by leading comrades of the central authorities on such problems as building up our spiritual civilization, and a summing-up of the spirit prevailing at the symposium of the central authorities on the activities during the "Culture and Courtesy Month," were communicated to the participants.

The meeting was of the opinion that the symposium called by the central authorities provided not only a summing-up of the results and experiences of the "Culture and Courtesy Month" activities and a clarification of the significance of hereafter launching sustained and penetrating "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities, but more importantly brought a clear understanding of the entire disposition of the central authorities regarding the whole party's work, in that they were giving their guidance and help in the overall outline and directing our efforts in the right direction, so that propaganda work will be even more closely integrated with the entire work of building up our spiritual civilization, and also more closely integrated with the future long-term historical tasks of the whole party. The party committees at all levels must conscientiously study these matters, gain a thorough understanding of them and furthermore earnestly implement these decisions. Comrades on the propaganda front must particularly gain clarity on the theoretical plane and clear up all kinds of muddled ideologies. Only then will they be able to conduct among the cadres at all levels and among the masses a meaningful propaganda which is to be clear, authentic and free from error, and only then will they be able to put political and ideological work on the right track.

The meeting emphasized that building up our socialist spiritual civilization is not only an important guarantee for the construction of our material civilization, but also a powerful stimulating force for the construction of this material civilization. To be effective in building up our socialist spiritual civilization, as it is also necessary to be effective in the construction of our material civilization, the task must be firmly pursued over a long period and pursued time after time. Building up our spiritual civilization is a fundamental task of our propaganda work. The "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities and the "Culture and Courtesy Month" activities are important forms of mass character of our endeavor to build up our socialist spiritual civilization. We shall create an even greater variety of such excellent forms, giving due attention to the effective use of advanced models, showing ourselves apt at grasping the demands of the masses, correctly selecting the break-through points and guiding the enthusiasm of the masses in the various facets of our endeavor to build up our socialist spiritual civilization. In order to build up a spiritual civilization of a high degree of excellence we must not only develop all educational and cultural undertakings, but also pay particular attention to conduct communist ideological and moral education among the masses. In conducting communist ideological education two aspects must be stressed: first, the principle of collectivism, and second, the attitude of being masters of our own affairs. The principle of collectivism demands that everyone serve the people wholeheartedly, it demands complete unselfishness and demands an ability to adopt the correct attitude toward the relationship of the state, the collective and the individual. It demands that in case of conflict of interests between the state, the collective and the individual, individual interests must be subordinated to the interests of the collective, the interests of the part subordinated to the interests of the whole, the immediate interests subordinated to the long-term interests. It also demands in every type of work, and in our lives, an ability to unite as one, to cooperate closely and to rely on the collective wisdom and strength in our endeavors to overcome our obstacles on the road of our advance. The attitude of being masters of our own affairs demands that the people act conscientiously as masters of the society, fully bringing into play their initiative, activism and creativity, without fear of making sacrifices for the benefit of the society as a whole. It demands that the people struggle arduously and overcome any mentality of being hirelings, the mentality of being interested in nothing but profits, of profiting at the state's expense and fleezing the state, and demands that they overcome any mistaken mentalities and attitudes of this nature. Conducting communist moral education is educating according to the spirit and the principles of communism and conducting education in social morality, in occupational morality and marriage and family morality, so that the people will conduct themselves in their communal lives within the society consciously according to the rules generally acknowledged by society, that they will accept the responsibilities and duties that they rightfully must accept, that they be strengthened to resist the mental corrosion by bourgeois ideology and the vestiges of feudal ideology, and that a spirit be nurtured in the people of acting not for fame and profit, but for the benefit of the people and for the revolution, and so that all the people of the whole province will gradually become persons with ideals, morality, discipline and culture.

The meeting was of the opinion that there must be a concrete target whenever "Four Stresses and Five Points of Beauty" activities are launched. Activities must be concentrated and unified, but at the same time they must also be dispersed activities that link up with the realities. A plan must be drawn up, concrete

measures must be carried out and regular check-ups must take place. We must still continue hereafter to wipe out effectively "uncleanliness, disorderliness, inadequacies," and several times every year large-scale crash activities shall be organized. Activities on a large scale shall be organized in all localities of the province several times per year around July 1, National Day and New Year's Day. More than before, activities must start out from the real conditions of the various units. Whatever problems they may have, these problems must be resolved. The "Five Stresses and Four Points of Beauty" activities must be integrated with work, study and production, and great efforts must be exerted to raise productivity, to enhance results that benefit the economy and to improve the quality of education.

9808

CSO: 4005/986

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMENTARY WARNS AGAINST RETALIATION

SK201017 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 19 Jul 82

[Station commentary: "Retaliation Should Never Be Tolerated"]

[Text] In the course of dealing blows at serious economic crimes, a serious case of retaliation occurred at the Fuxin Municipal Urban Construction Bureau such as is seldom seen in other places. Being devoted to his duty as an accountant, Comrade (Yuan Shulan) has waged a struggle against (Zhang Jingbo), who engaged in graft and appropriated state property. Such a just practice should be supported and encouraged by the people. However, with the protection and connivance of Comrade (Ma Xingquan) and others, (Zhang Jingbo) was promoted as members of the bureau CCP Committee instead of receiving disciplinary sanction. On the contrary, Comrade (Yuan Shulan) was persecuted and attacked with such means as suspension from his duties and salary and detention and release on two occasions, driving him to distraction. What a serious case of retaliation it is!

At present, many economic crimes involve individuals and cadres inside and outside the party. Some even involve a few leading cadres. Many criminal activities are mingled with party malpractices and, therefore, are complicated and difficult to deal with. For this reason, those who struggle against such malpractices will meet with obstructions from all quarters and even will be attacked and persecuted.

Discipline inspection departments and political and legal departments at all levels should resolutely protect politically, organizationally, and legally the financial and accounting personnel who dare to struggle against legal and disciplinary violations and those who fair-mindedly expose and denounce criminals. Those who retaliate against others by exercising their powers or authority must be conscientiously investigated and seriously dealt with.

We hope that the comrades who dare to struggle against criminal offences and unhealthy practices will continue to carry forward the dauntless revolutionary spirit and fight to the end for the interests of the party and the people. You should believe that the party and government support you and the large numbers of the masses also support you. Under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and the guidance of correct lines, so long as we hold firmly to the truth and dare to struggle, healthy tendencies will certainly overwhelm unhealthy ones and those who engage in retaliation will certainly be punished.



## PARTY AND STATE

### SURVEY OF INTELLECTUALS' WORK SITUATIONS ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Article Prepared from Organization Department Draft: "CCP Central Committee Organization Department, Propaganda Department, United Front Work Department, State Science Commission, and Labor Personnel Department Dispatch Investigation Teams to Gain Understanding of the Survey by All Jurisdictions of the Work Situation of Intellectual Small Number of Units in Danger of Slipping Into Formalistic Going Through the Motions and Should Be Given Attention"]

[Text] Recently the CCP Central Committee Organization Department, Propaganda Department, United Front Work Department, State Science Commission, and Labor Personnel Department sent five survey teams to some provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to gain an understanding of the survey by all jurisdictions of the work situation of intellectuals. These investigation teams left at the end of May and in early June.

In accordance with the notice from the CCP Central Committee, beginning in March this year every jurisdiction throughout the country launched a survey of the work of intellectuals. CCP committees at all levels attach a great amount of importance to this important matter, and in many provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, leadership comrades have personally taken part. Some also led survey teams into the grassroots levels to have heart to heart talks and information discussion meetings with intellectuals in order to understand at first hand the status of the work of intellectuals and any existing problems. At the present time, all departments in all jurisdictions are in the stage of concentrated study and diligent solution to problems with regard to survey of the work of intellectuals. Many places and units are collating problems discovered in the course of the survey, categorizing situations, and trying to solve those problems that they can solve themselves. In cases where problems are difficult of solution for the time being, they are making genuinely workable suggestions and doing ideological work with the personnel concerned. However, there are also a small number of units that are in danger of slipping into formalistic going through the motions.

The investigation teams sent out on this occasion by the Central Committee Organization Department and other departments has prepared to gain an understanding of an exchange good experiences everywhere, and to study some problems of general applicability.

## **PART 7 AND STATE**

### **STAGNATION AMONG RESEARCH PERSONNEL EXAMINED**

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Reporter Xiao Guangen [5135 7070 2700]: "Give Middle Age Intellectuals 'Ample Scope for Their Abilities.' The Views of Some Teachers, Scientists, and Technicians in Shanghai"]

[Text] Most of China's middle-aged intellectuals are now in the frontlines of teaching, research, and production. They are in the prime of life, are shouldering heavy duties, and they play a role as connecting links between the past and the future. How can concern be shown them and help given to them in solving their difficulties in work, in study, and in daily life so that they will have "ample scope for their abilities" is yet another important aspect to further implementation of party policies toward intellectuals. The reporter visited several teachers, scientists, and technicians in Shanghai to ask them to discuss their views on the foregoing question.

#### **Most Important Is That People Perform to the Full Extent of Their Abilities**

Zhu Yaxian [4281 7161 6513], deputy chancellor of Shanghai Communications University, is 47 years old and has been deputy chancellor for more than 2 years. He said that in the current implementation of policies, as far as middle-aged intellectuals are concerned, most important is opportunity to put their talents to good use by providing them a "stage" for their activities. During the past several years the party and government have attached extreme importance to bringing into play the role of intellectuals, but in institutions of higher learning, in research units, and in some heavy industry units, there still exists a general situation of insufficient work for intellectuals to do. The consequences of overstaffing have not only stifled talented persons but may engender a negligent and sluggish work style. This is not in the interest of the country or of the intellectuals themselves. In Shanghai Communications University, for example, were an amount of work system to be instituted, somewhat more than 800 professors would be able to discharge the entire university's teaching duties (with the exception of scientific research and teaching support). However, in our university, lecturers alone number more than 1,000 and there are another more than 300 full and assistant professors. Inevitably this must mean that some professors have nothing to do. China's intellectuals are distributed very unevenly. In Shanghai quite a few units are completely lacking scientific and technical personnel. Their "stages" have been empty for a

long time. Were there to be an organized movement of skilled people, quite a few professors would find "ample scope for their abilities." During the past 2 years we have sent out several hundred skilled people many of whom are playing active roles in their new positions.

#### Both a Free Hand Should Be Given For Use and Training Taken Firmly in Hand

Yu Chengbao [5713 2052 0202], Mo Shulin [5459 2579 2651], and Wang Weirong [3769 4850 2837], three professors in the electrical equipment and research group of Staff and Workers College of the Shanghai Municipal Handicrafts Administration were transferred from Shanghai Communications University in 1980. They said that after arriving at Staff and Workers College the quantity of work was much greater than at Communications University. Though busy, they felt very happy because they had a place to exert themselves. What makes people happy is that there the relationship between teaching and production is a very close one. One has to not only lecture but also to do a job in earnest to solve genuine problems in production. Nevertheless, we do have one concern, and that is that for the past 2 years teaching duties have been consistently heavy and we have had no time to engage in advanced studies to improve ourselves. It is hoped that the leaders will provide opportunities for professional improvement. This would not only help improve teaching standards but would also help further develop exchanges between trained people.

#### Making Use of Intellectuals Who Have Returned From Study Abroad

Teacher He Jifeng [0491 4480 6265] of the Computer Department at East China Teacher's College said that during the past several years institutions of higher learning and research units had sent quite a few people abroad to study, but after they had returned things that a considerable number of people had learned abroad had not been used in their parent units or in their present jobs. In future assignments of personnel to go abroad, investigation should be intensified for proper selection of a research orientation. Attention should be given those personnel who have returned to China to make use of their role. Institutions of higher learning and research units concerned should organize cooperative teams on the basis of their specialities or the problems they are working on to concentrate knowledgeable persons and laboratory equipment in each unit for joint research efforts. In this way, some personnel who have not been able to find a place in their parent units can put their skills to use. Furthermore, societies and academic groups concerned can operate various kinds of public lectures and short training courses to which they can invite comrades who have returned from study abroad to give academic reports or lectures so that those who have not gone abroad may also directly learn some advanced science and technology.

#### Selection of Talented People in the Same Way That Athletes Are Selected

The deputy director of the Shanghai Insects Institute, Yin Wenying [1438 2429 5391] said that I believe that the way in which athletes are selected is a good way of selecting talented people. However, this has not been done in research units. Some people who have no future in research may become advanced workers when transferred to some other position. Right now the situation is that those not suited for research work cannot get out while those truly suited

for research cannot get in. This problem must be solved through the system of organization. As far as intermediate level and high level scientific and technical personnel are concerned, an upgrading of their professional position might often do more to inspire them than an increase in wages. But many difficulties exist in doing this. In our Academy of Sciences there are some research personnel who have made achievements in their work and have produced almost 20 treaties that have been well evaluated by those in the same line of work, but they have yet to be promoted to deputy researcher.

Huang Weiheng [7806 4850 1854], deputy director of the Shanghai Organic Chemistry Institute said that it is presently difficult for scientific and technical personnel to move. In some research institutes, between 60 and 70 percent of the researchers are above middle age, and many have worked continuously for more than 20 years; they have rich practical experience, yet they are still assistant researchers while new blood cannot enter. This restricts development of people of talent.

9432

CSO: 4005/965



## PARTY AND STATE

### GETTING RICH THROUGH LABOR

#### Money From Raising Chickens

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Wu Bizhen [0702 4310 3791], Womens Federation, and Zhu Cangwu [2612 5547 2745], County News Unit]

[Text] Skilled chicken hatcher Lin Yuefen [2651 2588 5358], resident of Chengguan Town, Jianou County, with the encouragement of Provincial CCP Committee leadership comrades and the support of units concerned, built, at her own expense, a two storey steel reinforced concrete chicken house. The first storey of the chicken house was recently completed, and 600 chicks are now being fed.

This new chicken house cost about 10,000 yuan to build and, following completion, it will provide an area of 2.2 million square meters. It will have a total of eight rooms upstairs and downstairs, each of which will have heat ducts and a sundeck. When it is in full operation, 5,000 eating chicken can be fed and 20,000 chickens hatched each year.

The 50 year old Lin Yuefen began to seriously study chicken raising techniques in 1966, and she used a 9 square meter loft to hatch chicks. Formerly she annually hatched 9,000 chicks, but with the implementation of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Lin Yuefen went all out to develop a household chicken hatching industry. During the past 3 years she has annually hatched more than 12,000 and last year she had a net income of 2,100 yuan. Lin Yuefen has rendered a contribution to society and has also won deserved praise. The country has selected her as an advanced representative of getting rich through labor, and the Prefecture Women's Federation has asked her to give briefings on her experiences in getting rich. Last fall when Provincial CCP Committee leadership comrades went to northern Fujian prefectures to conduct an inspection, they went to her house where they encouraged her to make a greater contribution to society. During November last year, she made a report to the county and asked for a loan to build a new chicken house. The country very rapidly approved a 6,000 yuan capital construction loan and a loan of 3,500 yuan for production expenses from low interest agricultural loan funds. Within only slightly more than 2 months after having obtained the loan, Lin Yuefen finished the crash building of the

first storey of the new chicken house. She said I am already 50 years old and do not have much working time left. I have to use every minute of the time to hatch more chickens and raise more chickens, and contribute a little more strength to society.

#### Joint But Not Simultaneous Prosperity

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] It was very gladdening to read the series of reports titled, "It is a Glorious Thing to Get Rich Through Labor." After casting off the shackles of "leftism," these most ordinary peasants relied on their own two hands and their intelligence to labor arduously and become rich. Some of them raised chickens; some raised rabbits, some raised cattle, and some created woodlands or grew fruit. Basing themselves in production, they worked to become rich, and everybody should congratulate them.

We should give great support and encouragement to households that become rich through labor. Some people say, "We support everyone getting rich in common, but we cannot support just some people getting rich." This is an erroneous perception. Guiding peasants along the road of everyone becoming rich is the point of departure and the goal of our party's policies, and one that cannot be shaken at any time. However, everybody getting rich cannot be misinterpreted as meaning everybody getting rich at the same time with no distinction in the time when "everyone is rich." In rural villages there are myriad distinctions in the circumstances of individual families and households, and great imbalances have existed in the past and exist today in conditions of labor, techniques, funds, and such production conditions. Such imbalances will continue to exist in future as well, and consequently in working to become rich, that some will do so before others is a normal situation. To onesidedly stress "everyone getting rich together," denies those with strong workforces and good conditions from relying on their labor to get rich first, and that goes against objective laws. The former "great leveling" way of doing things greatly stifled the initiative of some people, and practice has shown that "stiding along together" cannot attain the goal of "everyone becoming rich at the same time." The result is no advantage for development of productivity, and no advantage for the country, the collective, and the individual.

Some people say that "to permit some people to get rich first will mean that those who engage in dishonest practices will become even bolder." This is also an erroenous perception. Getting rich by working, and engaging in dishonest practices are two different matters. The party's policies encourage and support getting rich by working, and they have never supported engaging in dishonest pratices, Those economic criminals who engage in dishonest practices are to be disciplined according to law. The problem today is that some people have a muddled idea about the limits of policies; they regard getting rich by working as "criminal economic activities." This is wrong. We suggest that all jurisdictions conscientiously check on whether such a problem exists. If it does, good work should be done to correct it.

A popular saying has it that "Treasures lie everywhere waiting to be found." Fujian Province has vast mountains and boundless seas, and the avenues for getting rich by working are broad. Everywhere groups of peasants have become rich through their own arduous labor. Today's report attests once again the possibilities of becoming rich by taking the right road. Just because some people have engaged in dishonest practices is no reason for us not to have a policy of getting rich by working.

It is a glorious thing to get rich by working, and we should boldly and courageously support it.

9432

CSO: 4005/973

## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHEJIANG GOVERNMENT'S REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS SYSTEM

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1

[Article by Zhai Ren [5049 7282], "Provincial Symposium on Rewards and Punishments Demands Clear Demarcations in the Rewards and Punishments for Personnel in Government Organs"]

[Text] "The personnel departments at all levels of the provincial government shall actively and firmly initiate a system of rewards and punishments for personnel in government organs." This was the demand put forward at the recent provincial symposium on the reward and punishment system.

Comrades from the personnel departments of the various prefectural, municipal and county governments who participated in the present symposium restudied the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments in Government Organs," issued by the State Council and approved by the NPC Standing Committee in 1957. The participants also exchanged experiences in the initiation of the rewards and punishments system, studied actual methods of implementing the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments" and formulated the immediate tasks and the tasks for the future regarding work to be done in connection with the rewards and punishments system. The experiences of comparing work performances and assessing rewards and of initiating rewards and punishments systems for personnel in government organs presented by Lishui district and the counties of Xiaoshan, Fuyang, Lishui and Dongyang, as well as the experiences in establishing, operating and perfecting the personal responsibility system at the general office of the provincial party committee and the provincial bureau of policy research, were a great stimulus to all participants. The meeting believed that the work in connection with the rewards and punishments system for workers in our provincial organs has already had a good beginning. As to awarding rewards, there are 1 district and 7 counties that carried out appraisals for awards, and 5 prefectures and municipalities and 29 counties (municipalities) that have launched activities for the comparison of work performances and appraisal of advanced workers. As to punishing and penalizing, there are 2 districts and municipalities and 45 counties (municipalities) where the personnel departments have carried out investigations and trials in cases of violations of discipline by personnel in government organs. However, in many localities to work concerning rewards and punishments for personnel in government organs is not yet being carried out. The meeting asked all districts and departments to make this work



an important part of their efforts to restore and promote the excellent traditions of our party and part of our great efforts to build up our spiritual civilization. Let us implement the "Provisional Regulations on Rewards and Punishments," carry out the principle of rewarding those who have done meritorious work and punishing those who have done anything wrong. Our rewards must not be sometimes meaningless and sometimes substantial; our punishments must not be sometimes below and sometimes above what is due. Merit and fault must be distinctly established, and rewards and punishments must be just and equal. Healthy tendencies must be promoted and unhealthy trends and evil practices must be fought. Through experiments we must accumulate experiences so that gradually the system of personal responsibility for government personnel at all levels will be established, strengthened and perfected. The comrade in charge of the organizational department of the provincial CCP Committee personally addressed the meeting.

9808

CSO: 4005/986

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

CPPCC DELEGATION ARRIVES IN HEILONGJIANG--A 32-member visiting and inspection group of the National CPPCC Committee headed by (Lei Xieqiong) arrive in Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, by plane on 22 July. Leading comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, the Provincial People's Government and the Provincial CPPCC Committee including Wang Yilun, Wang Zhao, Zhang Ruiling, Lu Guang, Wang Zhaozhi, Wang Caoli, Wang Minggui, Tang Liandi, Jin Langbai, Wang Huacheng, (Zhang Ping), (Wang Long), (Ma Kaiyu), (Shen Chonglong) and others welcomed the group at airport. Li Lian, second secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, and Chen Junsheng, secretary of the Provincial CCP Committee, went to the (Beifang) building to meet the group on the evening of 22 July. [Harbin Heilongjiang Province Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Jul 82 SK]

LIAONING PUNISHES FABRICATORS--Two commune members, (Liu Guxin) and (Jiang Yune) of (Diaoyutai) brigade in Jin County, Liaoning Province, illegally distributed big-character posters to slander their brigade cadres because they were dissatisfied with the work assignments and settlement of dependents by the cadres. In dealing with the case, the county people's court sentenced them to 3 months imprisonment. [SK240437 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 22 Jul 82]

CSO: 4005/1144

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' PRAISES ZHU DE MILITARY FEATS

HK041001 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Xiao Ke [5618 0344]: "Real Gold Stands the Test of Strong Fire-- Reading Comrade Zhu De's 'From the Nanchang Uprising to Going Up Jinggang Mountain'"]

[Text] Fifty-five years have quickly passed since the 1 August uprising! On the occasion of this red-letter day, the army day, reading Comrade Zhu De's article "From the Nanchang Uprising to Going up Jinggang Mountain" reminds me of some past events. During that period of time, Comrade Zhu De really showed the airs of being capable of "stemming the flow of all rivers and diverting it to the east, and saving the general situation from worsening." I deeply cherish the memory of him.

Only a chaotic situation will reveal one's heroism. Comrade Zhu De took a specific course of development from an old-type armyman to a member of our party during the initial period and was a principal leader of the Nanchang uprising. He was born into a peasant family and deeply exploited and oppressed by feudalism. During his youth, he established the will to save the country and the people. He took the path of "saving the country through education." Later, he renounced the pen and joined the army. During the revolution of 1911, the war of protecting the republic and the war of defending the constitution, he charged to the fore and fought bravely. He rendered outstanding meritorious services, thus being quickly promoted from a junior officer to a major general in command of a brigade. He was burdened with pressing military duties, but he discovered that his prospects were bleak. So, he felt frustrated. The roar of guns of the October Revolution brought new hope to Comrade Zhu De who was groping his way in depression and hesitation. He cherished the ideal of Marxism. He read and studied the Marxist works which were available at that time. He resolutely gave up his high position and handsome salary and went abroad to Germany, Marx's hometown, to seek the truth. In November 1922, recommended by Comrade Zhou Enlai, he joined the CCP in Berlin. Afterward, he fought bravely for the great cause of communism. Seeing the important position of military work in the Chinese Revolution, he was determined to "serve the party and engage in military work all his life." He first studied military science in Germany and then went to the Soviet Union to study the experience of the Red Army. He was one of the few party members at that time who attached such great importance to military work and made such arduous efforts to study military theories.

In modern Chinese history, many Communist Party members strenuously studied to find the true way of saving the country and the people. Comrade Zhu De exerted great efforts to achieve this end. In the course of turning from an old-type democrat to a staunch communist, he proceeded with every step according to the demands of the times. In 1925, he wrote this in a letter: "He who does not see my true features will never know that I am a faithful party member." Amid the waves of revolution, he proved himself a "swimmer" good at tiding over the waves instead of drafting with the tide. The Nanchang uprising was precisely one of the revolutionary waves whipped up by him together with Comrades Zhou Enlai, He Long, Ye Ting and Liu Bocheng.

"Be capable of standing the test of defeat, be a hero in time of defeat." Comrade Zhu De who firmly believed in the party was such a hero. The main force of the army which waged the Nanchang uprising was defeated after it parted with other forces at Sanheba. Led by Comrade Zhu De, the 25th division and the training regiment also withdrew from the battle after fighting for 3 days and nights with three enemy divisions at Sanheba. Under his leadership, this contingent of about 2,000 men went from Dapu to Jiaoling and then advanced to Fengshi and Wuping, fighting all the way in the mountains on the Fujian-Jiangxi-Guangdong borders and being chased by an enemy division and harassed by the landlords' armed forces. Fighting in isolation and lacking supplies, the contingent was rather confused ideologically and was in a grave situation. Many people who could not stand the test deserted. Its organizational system was shattered and the number of its men gradually reduced to less than 1,000. Hunger, cold and disease tortured the fighters. The prospects of the contingent were disheartening. Showing a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision, Comrade Zhu De led the contingent in tiding over the hardships. He called an army's general meeting at Tianxinxiu. He educated and persuaded the comrades by telling them the Marxist principle: the Chinese revolution in 1927, like the Russian revolution in 1905, looks gloomy for the time being. The revolution will find a way out as long as we preserve our combat effectiveness. He raised his arm and shouted: "Those who want to make revolution, follow me!" All were heartened at once. Answering his call, the contingent was united again. Immediately after that, he and Comrades Chen Yi and Wang Erzhua reorganized the contingent and set up a party branch, which called a meeting of party members and cadres to strengthen ideological and political work. A series of measures were adopted to train and consolidate the troops afterward. "The forces became more united, displayed a greater sense of discipline and raised their combat effectiveness." Thus, the spark of the Nanchang uprising and the essence of the people's army were preserved.

Comrade Zhu De firmly believed in the revolution and paid close attention to the art of political struggle. At that time, the contingent began to stabilize, but it needed to be replenished with ammunition and food and also needed a peaceful environment for carrying out training and consolidation. For this reason, he discussed the problem with Comrades Chen Yi and Wang Erzhua and decided to "make friends" with Fan Shisheng in order to stage a comeback.

Fan Shisheng had long established a relationship in terms of the united front with our party and in his troops there were our party's organizations. His troops belonged to the Yunnan faction of the Kuomintang troops and was stationed



in the remote border areas between Guangdong and Hunan. He was in conflict with Chiang Kai-shek and the warlords of Guangdong and Guangxi and he wanted to utilize our troops to preserve his own strength. Fan Shisheng and Zhu De were classmates when they studied at the Jiangwu military school in Yunnan and they joined the 1911 revolution together, therefore, there was a kind of personal bond of friendship between Fan and Zhu. After making an analysis of the situation, Comrade Zhu De thought that it was very possible that Fan would cooperate with us. Indeed, Fan took the initiative and sent some people to contact us, expressing his hope to cooperate with us. However the cooperation had to be conditional, during the negotiations, Zhu De clearly told them that ours were CCP troops and had to enjoy freedom of action, that the material supplies Fan gave us had to be completely under our control and that the work related to internal organization and training of our troops could not be interfered with by anyone. During the time when Zhu De cooperated with Fan Shisheng, Zhu adhered to principle, gave us the initiative and made this cooperation very favorable for us. As a result, our troops not only got a good rest, but also material supplies. This was a good example of successfully developing the united front in the history of our army.

Comrade Zhu De mastered the art of commanding battles. When his troops were marching to the south, he heard the news about the defeat of the Guangzhou uprising. He immediately ordered his troops to change direction and go north to northern Hunan where he launched the northern Hunan revolt. When Xu Kexiang, the chief culprit of the 21st May incident, led his troops to march through Lechuang and Pingshi in northern Guangdong in order to attack us at Yizhang in Hunan, his troops were much stronger than ours. Comrade Zhu De made a careful study of the situation and decided to "avoid engaging the enemy when they were in high spirits and wait till they were weary and wanted to go home." He took the initiative, withdrew his troops from Yizhang beforehand and stationed the troops to wait for a chance in the mountainous areas of Balibao and Shenggongtan some 80 li to the south of Yizhang City where there was a relatively fine mass foundation. Xu Kexiang's troops drove straight in the formation of a long line. Comrade Zhu De directed his troops' movement when chances emerged and launched sudden attacks. In 2 days, three battles were fought against separate parts of the enemy troops. Our troops dashed straight into Pingshi and destroyed the divisional headquarters of the enemy troops there, wiping out more than 1,000 enemy troops. Then he led our troops to the north to Liantian and routed one of Tang Shengzhi's regiments. It was in this manner that he launched the dynamic Hunan revolt. The second siege of Yongxin City that he directed after his troops went up into the Jinggang mountains was another magnificent exemplary battle. When a large number of the enemy troops in Jiangxi approached Yongxin from the East, he led his troops to attack Gaolong and gave the enemy the false impression that our troops were moving into Hunan. Then he led the main force of the Red Army suddenly back from Gaolong, making a rapid march of 130 li in 1 day. At Caoshiao, his troops wiped out an enemy regiment and then took Yongxin City. The enemy troops in Yongxin were utterly routed and their commander was wounded and made a narrow escape by jumping over the city wall. In this battle, Comrade Zhu De wonderfully used the tactics of "making a feint to the east and attacking in the west." During the prolonged revolutionary war, Comrade Zhu De directed many vivid and stirring living dramas of fighting. I can say that the fighting before and after our troops moved up into the Jinggang mountains was merely the prelude to these dramas.

From the Nanchang uprising to the period of the Jinggang guerrilla war, in order to find a correct path for the Chinese Revolution, Comrade Zhu De conducted many beneficial tests and scored tremendous achievements. It was an inevitable historical development that he joined his troops up with Comrade Mao Zedong's in the Jinggang mountains. The force of the wind tests the strength of the grass and fire tests real gold. Comrade Zhu De's excellent deeds and words of that period constitute an immortal chapter of the history of the revolution of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/1145

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SHENYANG PLA CADRES RAP DENG'S ARMY BUILDING LINE

OW181956 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 17 Jul 82

[Excerpt] In a joint letter to Comrade Song Requiong, former political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units and now director of the organization department of the CCP Central Committee, 17 veteran cadres of the Shenyang PLA units pointed out: In streamlining the army, decisions are made for veteran cadres to be demobilized, retired or transferred to civilian jobs not on the basis of one's health, age or competence in work but on how one behaved during the cultural revolution. Many cadres who are loyal to the cause of the party have been accused of committing serious mistakes during the 10 chaotic years and have been weeded out of the army under this pretext. If this goes on, all veteran PLA cadres with rich combat experience will be weeded out in a few years. This will directly affect the army's combat strength.

What these 17 veteran cadres said in their letter to Comrade Song Renqion is absolutely correct and timely. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction that all those who participated in "three supports and two militaries" activities during the cultural revolution must be weeded out of the army within the next 2 to 3 years is completely wrong. Such an instruction also harms army building. Some people with ulterior motives, by willfully accusing veteran army cadres of committing so-called mistakes during the 10 chaotic years, have dealt blows at many of them. [passage omitted]

When Comrade Hu Yaobang inspected the Shenyang PLA units last fall, he affirmed the achievements made by the commanders and fighters of these units during the 10 chaotic years. He pointed out: History has proven that our party, state and people have full confidence in their army, including in the commanders and fighters of the Shenyang PLA units.

Not long afterward Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized Comrade Hu Yaobang at a military commission meeting. He said: One should not make a positive appraisal of anything in this world, particularly not of the Shenyang PLA units where the gang of four built its base and where the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four still has not been eliminated.

Several years have passed since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee adopted a resolution aimed at achieving stability and unity. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping is still directing his spearhead at the cadres

of the Shenyang PLA units and at all leading comrades of the army. This is indeed to be regretted.

The views expressed by the 17 veteran cadres of the Shenyang PLA units in their letter to Comrade Song Renqiong actually reflect those of the broad masses of cadres throughout the army. The leading comrades concerned at the central level should earnestly study these views and take appropriate measures.

CSO: 4005/1135



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### DEPUTY PLA COMMANDER COMMENTS ON HIS RETIREMENT

HK161005 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 14 Jul 82

[Station's report: "A General's Breadth of Vision"—An interview with Ou Zhifu, deputy commander of the Guangzhou PLA units]

[Text] On an early summer's evening, we paid a visit to Comrade Ou Zhifu, deputy commander of the Guangzhou PLA units. In the face of the important policy decision put forth by the Party Central Committee for solving the problem of aging cadre ranks and promoting middle-aged and young cadres. Not long ago, our general, who has worked hard for the revolution for more than half a century, submitted his application for retirement to the party organization. The topic of our conversation started with his request to withdraw from his leading post. Comrade Ou Zhifu, 67 years old, is still glowing with health and radiating vigor. He is a man with a sanguine disposition. As soon as we were seated, he came straight to the point, saying: "The Party Central Committee is categorically resolved to start with the reform of the state system, to streamline administration and solve the problem of aging cadres. This is a wise decision which enjoys full support from the whole party and falls in with the wishes of the people as well as gives voice to the old comrades' innermost feelings." Then he gave a brief history of his own experiences. Comrade Ou Zhifu comes from a poor family of Zhuang nationality in Guangxi Province. In 1929 when he was just 15 years old, he joined the peasant red guards. Before long, he became a warrior of the Seventh Red Army. In the fiery days of the war years he was wounded three times. Until today there is still a small piece of shrapnel left in his body. Since liberation, Comrade Ou Zhifu has been working conscientiously with the vigor he showed during the war years. At the time of counterattack in self-defense in Vietnam, old and weak as he was, he still went to the forefront to direct fighting for 30 nights and days consecutively. Sometimes he would rush here and there in an armored car. And at times he would, with a stick in hand, climb hills and wade across rivers.

On hearing of his emotional reminiscence of the war years, feelings were called forth in us of profound respect, and we could not help but say: "You, a veteran fighter, are still as valiant as before." But he immediately shook his head and uttered: "My health can hardly be compared with that in the good old times. I am old now." Pointing at the greying at his temples, he said with humor: "Hey, look! My head is almost hoary. I am too old to be a brave

"warrior again." After that, Ou Zhifu came back to the subject again and pointed out: "Replacing the aging cadres with younger ones is a problem calling for immediate solution. There are still a number of old comrades like me who are holding leading positions. We must consciously hand over our work and let strong and capable young men take over." He continued confidently: "Birth, aging, illness and death are biological phenomena. The supersession of the old by the new is a natural and inviolable law. Striving for the realization of communism is like a relay race. It needs continuous efforts by people of many generations. If the new cannot replace the old in time and they cannot cooperate well with each other, our revolutionary cause might be suspended. On such an important matter, there should not even slight misunderstanding or wavering."

After that, when we changed our topic to the younger generation, Comrade Ou Zhifu talked on and on excitedly. Citing his own experience in which he became regimental commander at the age of 23, and divisional commander at 29, he pointed out: "Some people still do not quite trust the younger cadres by alleging that carrying a pole of new bamboo is not safe. This is a common prejudice. In fact, the young of our time are more capable than we were then. Only when we fearlessly hand over our work to them, and bring up and cultivate a large number of young cadres, will our army units be bursting with youthful vigor forever."

From his tensely emotional talk, we saw the loyalty of an old warrior and an old party member to the revolution. Thereupon, we asked Comrade Ou Zhifu to tell us what he was going to do for the revolution after his retirement. At this moment, he handed to us two of his diaries and a big envelope. We found in his diaries he had written all his experience since he joined the revolution, totaling more than 30,000 characters. In the envelope, there were 10 draft articles of his reminiscences which he had written in his spare time in recent years. Some of the reminiscences have already been published, while others are being modified. Comrade Ou Zhifu indicated: "Old comrades like me who have spent most of their lifetime in the army should all have their own experiences and lessons drawn in the course of fighting. If these experiences and lessons can be summed up for the reference of the younger generation, isn't it a contribution to the revolution?" Finally, Comrade Ou Zhifu expressed his determination that he would, as a significant contribution to the younger generation, finish his reminiscences as soon as possible after his retirement and would write something about his feelings on how to build army units.

CSO: 4005/1135

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

**HAINAN ARMY DAY GROUPS**—The three subgroups of the Hainan regional army day groups comprise responsible comrades of the region and Haikou Municipality including Luo Tian, Xiao Huanhui, (Zhao Guangju) and (Yu Qingli). They set out to visit PLA units in the island on 26 July. On the evening of the same day regional CCP Committee First Secretary Luo Tian led one of the subgroups to the Hainan military district organs to pay a comfort visit. They were welcomed by leading comrades of the military district Jiang Hai, Li Peng, (Yang Songlin), (Song Fengzhang), (Fu Zhiluo), (Liu Jinghua) and (Jiang Limin). Luo Tian and Hainan military district political Commissar Li Peng made speeches extending mutual appreciation and regards. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

**HAINAN MILITIA**—Hainan made good progress in military training for the militia in the first half of the year. By the end of June, training for the full-time armed forces cadres and primary militia had been 92 percent completed. The primary militia got good results in firing infantry weapons with live ammunition. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

**HAINAN GAMBLING**—Yai County Public Security Bureau's Sanya subbureau destroyed 120 gambling sites, arrested 560 gamblers and confiscated 1,400 yuan in stakes in the first half of this year. The subbureau has also fined or detained those involved. [HK290921 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 27 Jul 82]

**HENAN OVERSEAS CHINESE MEETING**—A Henan Provincial meeting to commend progressive representatives of returned overseas Chinese and dependents of overseas Chinese who are living abroad and progressive units in overseas Chinese affairs work concluded on 28 July after 4 days in session. Responsible comrades of the provincial CCP Committee, people's congress standing committee, government and CPPCC including Dai Suli, Zhao Wenfu, Zhang Chixia, Shao Wenjie, Ye Renshou and Yue Xiaoxia attended the closing ceremony. Provincial CCP Committee Secretary Zhao Wenfu made a speech. [HK290921 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 28 Jul 82]

**SHANDONG ARMY DAY ANNIVERSARY**—On 30 July the Jinan PLA units sponsored a meeting in Jinan to mark the 55th anniversary of the PLA's founding. Attending the meeting were leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units including Rao Shoukun, Xiong Zuofang, Zhao Bingan, Fang Zheng, Chen Renhong, Chen Meizao, Sun Jixian,

Li Bo, Zuo Qi, Bao Xianzhi, (Kuang Kaitian), Xu Hongyun and (Jin Zhaoxi); leading personnel of the air force units under the Jinan PLA units including (Wang Zixiang) and (Zhang Yong); responsible comrades from the leading organs under the Jinan PLA units and from the major PLA units stationed in Jinan; and cadres and fighters--over 2,000 persons in all. Comrade Rao Shoukun addressed the meeting. In his speech, he urged the broad masses of PLA cadres and fighters to make still greater contribution to military training and spiritual civilization construction. [SK312240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Jul 82]

SHANDONG ARMY DAY ACTIVITIES--To mark the 55th anniversary of the PLA's founding, the political, propaganda and cultural departments under the Jinan PLA units will sponsor a joint photographic exhibition at the Bayi auditorium in Jinan on 1 August. Prior to the opening, leading comrades of the Jinan PLA units including Rao Shoukun, commander of the Jinan PLA units, viewed the exhibit which includes 223 pictures, some of which are souvenir photos of inspection tours and military parade attended by leading comrades of the central authorities. Some depict military training, and some are of achievements scored by PLA cadres and fighters in building a socialist spiritual civilization and supporting the government and cherishing the people. [SK312240 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 30 Jul 82]

NEI MONGGOL COMFORTS SOLDIERS--The Nei Monggol autonomous regional and Hohhot Municipal People's Government and people's congress standing committees organized 2 groups to extend regards to soldiers at army hospitals and sanatoriums 20-21 July. The first group was led by Zhou Beifeng, vice chairman of the autonomous regional people's government, and the second groups by Wang Yilun, vice chairman of the autonomous regional people's congress standing committee. [SK212240 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jul 82]

FUJIAN SEA PATROL GROUP--Fujian's sea public security patrol group was officially established at a meeting in Fuzhou on 30 June. The group has been formed by the province's public security departments to combat smuggling. Provincial CCP Committee and government leaders Jin Zhaodian and Wen Fushan, as well as 500 cadres and fighters of various military and public security units attended the inauguration. Speaking at the meeting, Jin Zhaodian called on the patrol group of the navy to outstandingly carry out its duties of combating smuggling, insuring security on the sea, protecting people's lives and property and defending the country's territorial sovereignty. [OW231729 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 1 Jul 82]

SHANGHAI MILITIA TRAINING--A meeting on militia training called by the organs under the Nanjing PLA units opened in Shanghai on 25 June. The meeting was held to summarize and exchange experiences in military training and in the reform of training for militiamen and to arrange militia work for the next two years. Under the leadership of the party committee of the Nanjing PLA units and of the party committees of Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Anhui Provinces and Shanghai municipality, the organs have made new achievements in promoting military training for militiamen in the past two years. Zhou Zijiang, adviser to the Nanjing PLA units, attended the meeting. (Ji Wei), deputy chief of staff of the organs, made a report. Shanghai Vice Mayor Han Zheyi attended the meeting to extend his greetings. [Text] [Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Jun 82 OW]



SHANGHAI AIR DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Shanghai Municipal People's Air Defense Committee held an enlarged meeting on the afternoon of 25 June. Chai Shulin, director of the municipal people's air defense office, reported on the city's people's air defense work in the past 6 months and pointed out major tasks for the second half of 1982. The meeting called on the people's air defense departments at all levels to do a good job in the construction of people's air defense projects. Yang Di, vice chairman of the municipal people's air defense committee, presided over and addressed the meeting. Huang Jingkun, vice chairman of the municipal people's air defense committee, also spoke at the meeting. [Text] [OW161140 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 25 Jun 82]

CSO: 4005/1135

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### YUNNAN PARTY COMMITTEE URGES STRENGTHENING OF CADRE TRAINING

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen Cadre Training, Improve Quality of Political Work; Provincial Committee Organization Department and Other Sections Draft Cadre Training Measures"]

[Text] On the basis of surveys and opinions from relevant sections and universities and colleges, the provincial committee's organizational, propaganda, and science and education departments and the provincial education and personnel bureaus together studied and discussed and drafted four measures to improve cadre training in our province:

Beginning in the second half of this year, provincial party committee schools will offer year and a half to 2 year training classes for young and middle-aged cadres responsible for training 200 young and middle-aged leadership cadres from above county bureau level, who are under 45 years of age, have lower middle school education or equivalent, and have a certain degree of professional knowledge. In school, the students will systematically study Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, history of the Chinese Communist Party and party building and at the same time will study scientific and cultural knowledge. In addition, the provincial party school's present cadre training class and leadership study classes will rotate in the second half of the year as originally planned.

Higher schools will be relied on to offer special cadres classes mainly to train management mainstays who have a certain amount of specialized knowledge, cultural knowledge and professional ability and are both red and expert to be able to firmly carry out the party's line, principles and policies. Beginning in the second half of this year, Yunnan University will offer politics and law cadre classes, Kunming Industrial College will offer industrial and enterprise management cadre classes and mine management cadre classes, Kunming Normal College will offer secretary and writing cadre classes, Yunnan Financial and Trade College will offer enterprise financial management cadre classes, Yunnan Nationality College will offer cultural study cadre classes. Each offering of these 6 classes will enroll 40 students who will study for 2 years. Recruiting methods will be by recommendation by organization, application for examination by the individual and acceptance of those with the best records. Students must be cadres with good political thinking, correct work style,

dedication and a certain amount of practical experience, be under 40 years of age, have upper middle school education or equivalent (culture class should have junior middle school education or equivalent) and be in good health. Field of examination should be the same as the cadre's present work or be suited to his strengths. While in school, students will continue to hold job seniority; when schooling is complete all who qualify through examination will receive treatment equivalent to graduates of colleges for professional training and in principle will return to their original jobs.

Party organizations at all levels should pay higher regard to and strengthen leadership of study by cadres on the job and conscientiously organize cadres to study politics, professions and culture and actively support cadres to participate in correspondence university, after work university, television university and employee university study. In addition, to promptly seek out gifted people, encourage cadres to study independently and improve themselves, a Yunnan Higher Education Self-study Examination Preparatory Committee has already been established and has begun work.

We should continue to operate cadre schools and party schools at all levels. In the second half of this year, existing cadre schools of committee, offices, departments, and bureaus at the provincial level should continue rotational training of cadres as originally planned and according to original scale; cadre schools and training classes of various levels and kinds and party schools at various levels throughout the province should strive to train more cadres in rotation this year.

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CSO: 4005/898

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### STRENGTHENING OF CADRE EDUCATION URGED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 82 p 1

[Article by a commentator for YUNNAN RIBAO: "Stress the Important Task of Cadre Education"]

[Text] Recently, in the spirit of the directives of the Central Committee of the CCP and the provincial committee, the Yunnan province committee's organization department, propaganda department, science and education department and the provincial education bureau and personnel bureau researched and drafted some ideas and methods of strengthening the education of cadres on the job and decided to begin to take specific steps this year. This is a positive measure to improve the cadres' political quality and their professional ability and better suit them to the needs of socialist modernization.

The demand to build a revolutionized, young, knowledgeable and professional cadre corps includes not only attracting young and middle-aged cadres with both ability and political integrity, but at the same time includes training and improving present cadres. Using the favorable opportunity of economic readjustment to gradually establish a regularized cadre educational system to select qualified cadres from party and government organs and from business and enterprise units for full-time study and training by rotation in groups is a task for establishing a solid foundation for building a cadre corps and a need for adapting to present economic readjustment and the four modernizations.

Most of our cadres grew up and took shape in the long period of revolutionary struggle and are a mainstay force on which socialist construction can rely, but there is still the problem of the level of cadres not being appropriate to the present situation. In particular, compared with the interior, our province's border areas where minority nationalities and numerous, fall somewhat short in terms of economic and cultural development. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, party committees at all levels have gradually come to recognize the importance of stressing cadre education work and utilizing the existing variety of conditions and adopting a variety of instructional forms, have trained a great many cadres from the minorities and sections with good results. But in earlier training, there was a lot of short-term rotational training and little systematic training; although many cadres thirsted for study and improvement, due to time limitations they could not



systematically study and master professional knowledge. Practice proves that this kind of short-term rotational training is necessary, but relying only on short-term rotational training is still not suited to the demands of present economic readjustment, and in terms of the demands of socialist modernization overall and long-range building of a cadre corps it is even less suitable. This is not to mention that in the advance of our enterprise, the daily and monthly developments in science and technology, new things and new problems appear in an endless stream, and all these things require that we study, research and resolve. Now, in establishing a regular cadre educational system and in a planned and gradual way organizing cadre study away from production, in addition to studying political theory, it is mainly to study professional, cultural and scientific knowledge. Through 1, 2 or 3 years of study, they can raise their level of political theory and their level of culture, science and technology and economic management, and increase the political quality and work ability of the cadre corps.

The systemization of cadre education work is an important strategic matter which we must stress in carrying out the socialist modernizations, and is an important direction in reforming the cadre system. Party committees at all levels should fully understand the important significance of stressing this work, make a great resolution and spend great effort to stress this work on a long-term basis so that it will become systematized and regularized. Now, provinces, districts (cities), counties and sections already have a number of educational bases, a cadre education corps, and have accumulated some experience, and this is a favorable condition for building a regularized educational system. If only party committees at all levels will pay sufficient attention, strengthen leadership, plan comprehensively, launch a movement to coordinate forces from all aspects and work together, it will be possible to give cadres training work a good grounding and to produce results.

Of course, when stressing the training of cadres through various kinds of schools, we cannot overlook study and improvement of cadres on the job. In this regard, sections and units should conscientiously organize cadres to study politics, professional work and culture, support cadres who participate in after-work university study and actively encourage cadres to study independently and improve themselves.

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CSO: 4005/898

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### YUNNAN BORDER UNITS TRAIN, PROMOTE MINORITY CADRES

Kuming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 82 p 2

[Article: "Yunnan Border Unit Trains Large Number of Minority Nationality Cadres; Over 30 Nationality Cadres To Become Leaders in Division and Regimental Posts."]

[Text] A Yunnan border unit of the PLA has over 30 minority nationality cadres who will become division and regimental leaders. There are also almost 600 cadres from minority nationalities, including Bais, Dais, Was, Zhuangs, Achangs, Jingpos and Buyis who are undergoing advanced training at the unit military college.

This unit is made up of cadres and soldiers who come from the more than 30 nationalities throughout the motherland. The unit party committee places great importance on training minority nationality cadres, and sends specialists to help them study scientific culture and military knowledge, and every year sends a group of superior minority nationality cadres to unit colleges and leadership training units for advanced training. Sha Dongkui [3097 2639 7606] the deputy political commissar of a division, who is of the Hui nationality, was promoted to regimental political commissar. So that he could learn his new job as quickly as possible, the unit party committee promptly sent him to the PLA Political College for study. Battalion Commander Yang Changkui [2799 2490 1145], who is from the Yi nationality, is an excellent minority nationality cadre. After the unit party committee promoted him to regimental chief of staff, they sent him to a higher level military college for study, too.

Leadership at all levels in this unit pays careful attention to furthering the specialization, assistance and leadership of minority cadres currently on station. After Staff Officer Yu Guoan [0358 0948 1344], who is from the Zang nationality, was promoted to regimental chief of staff, Regimental Commander Chen Hanrong [7115 3352 2837] and the other leadership comrades passed on their experience and taught him their methods, so that Yu Guoan's command ability and managerial level were raised very quickly.

Now the minority nationality cadres of this unit have already become a mainstay force for unit construction and resisting the enemy and defending the border.

8226

CSO: 4005/898

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' PRESENTS 'INSIDE STORY OF CIA'

HK160838 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part I: Advertising for Recruits"]

[Text] Langley, in the State of Virginia, is only about 12 kilometers from Washington. In the setting of luxuriant trees stands a modern building by the bank of the Potomac River. It is surrounded by a 10-foot barbed wire fence and the whole compound occupies more than 1,300 mu. The atmosphere is extremely tranquil and gives people the impression that it is perhaps a secluded private sanatorium. Only on approaching the guarded entrance of the building can people see the words "Central Intelligence Agency" engraved on the marble of the vestibule and the eagle head logo in the center. People are not unfamiliar with the CIA, for it is the headquarters of the U.S. intelligence and espionage mechanism which for years has been conducting espionage activities on a large scale in all parts of the world.

The CIA has a history of less than 35 years from its inception to the present, but it has already been through the stages of initial growth, development, ascendancy and decline. In the last 10 years, the CIA has slipped from an unexcelled height to the bottom of the gorge. At present, it is rallying its forces and preparing for a comeback.

In order to understand the internal situation of the CIA, let us first study this advertisement.

In early March this year, a dulcet voice made an announcement over an Atlanta radio station in America: "We are the CIA and we are looking for people with expertise. After necessary training you can work in our organization." In quite seductive language the announcer declared: Anyone with "initiative, enterprise and an independent spirit willing to live abroad" can qualify for the work. In conclusion, the announcer said: "If you think you have the expertise and are equal to working for the CIA, please contact us." This was a recruitment advertisement made by the CIA. A similar advertisement was also broadcast in Salt Lake City.

The employees of the CIA are divided into "white personnel" and "black personnel." The former are the intelligence analysts, technicians and other

employees known to the public. The latter are the espionage agents. In the past, the CIA usually recruited "qualified people" from various sectors as well as expanded its organization by means of a variety of contacts. For example, it had used some of the people who formerly worked in intelligence organizations but presently are teaching in universities to extensively select, seek out or buy over the teachers and students. But the use of radio broadcasts to advertise for recruits is still a first in CIA history. The radio listeners were quite taken by surprise. However, some young people who do not know the details have actually happily sent in their applications. Little do they know that anyone who joins the CIA cannot get out and will always be under its extremely tight control. In the past, cases of CIA workers who committed suicide because their request for transfer to another line of work had been turned down were nothing new.

CSO: 4005/1133



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'YANGCHENG WANBAO' ON CIA DURING, AFTER WATERGATE

HK190738 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 16 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part II: Notorious Through Giving Themselves Away"]

[Text] The CIA flourished mightily at the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, when it would stop at nothing and was omnipotent, its personnel knew lots of small tricks and included all kinds of strange people. Why then has it got to its present state whereby it has to advertise for recruits over radio and in the press? Actually, this has a lot to do with the revelations of the "Watergate incident."

The year 1972 was election year in America. On the evening of 17 June, just as the campaign was getting into full swing, five people were caught red-handed stealing secret documents in the Watergate Building in Washington. In fact, these five had quietly unlocked the basement door of the building, gone up to the sixth floor where they forced open the door of the Democratic Party's Campaign Headquarters, surreptitiously photographed Democratic Party files and secret documents, and also installed a bugging device in order to monitor Democratic Party leaders' conversations on campaign strategy. Four of these five people had been CIA agents. Although they were nimble-fingered, they left traces, and were eventually arrested on the spot.

After the incident, the Republican Party destroyed incriminating evidence and did everything possible to clamp the lid down. However, after more than 2 years of investigations, the truth of the Watergate incident and the involvement of the White House was finally uncovered. This caused a public uproar, President Nixon was left with no alternative but to resign over this incident in 1974. For some time afterwards there were press and magazine revelations and attacks on the CIA's malpractices, focusing on two aspects: carrying out so-called counterespionage activities at home; and carrying out so-called covert operations abroad.

At home, under the pretext of counterespionage, the CIA resorted to all kinds of methods to watch the activities of political dissidents and their groups; it arbitrarily broke into the homes of certain U.S. citizens, including its own former and current employees, to collect information on them; it eavesdropped on U.S. citizens' phone conversations, stole and inspected their mail

and engaged in other activities that violated the rights of the individual, and even carried out medical experiments on citizens, and so on.

Abroad, the CIA's covert activities seemed to embrace the entire globe, they included buying over newspapers and periodicals, providing funds for supporting opposition parties, inciting revolts and staging coups, and so on and so forth. Outstanding examples were the overthrow of the Guatemalan Nationalist Government in 1954, the overthrow of the Congo (Kinshasa) Lumumba Government in 1960 and 1961 and the assassination of Lumumba, the invasion organized against Cuba in 1961, the scheme to overthrow the Royal Government of Cambodia, headed by Prince Sihanouk, in 1970, and support for the military coup in Chile in September 1973, which overthrew the Allende Government; President Allende died in the fighting.

The revelation to the world of these criminal CIA activities evoked still fiercer public censure and criticism, and congress was forced to set up a number of committees to "investigate" them. The CIA became even more notorious from then on.

CSO: 4005/1133

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MORE FROM 'YANGCHENG WANBAO' ON CIA REORGANIZATION

HK200210 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 17 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Sun He [1327 6320]: "Inside Story of the CIA, Part III: Big Reorganization Produces No Results"]

[Text] Under the pressure of powerful public opinion, President Carter issued an administrative decree on 24 January 1978 on conducting a reorganization of the U.S. intelligence agencies. This was the biggest reshuffle since the establishment of the CIA. Carter's decree, on the one hand, greatly upgraded the power of the director of CIA, who was entitled to control the nine intelligence departments directly or indirectly, to exercise his functions in the planning of all U.S. intelligence agencies, to be responsible in setting up and coordinating the tasks and activities of various intelligence agencies and to collect and analyze all foreign intelligence. On the other hand, the decree stipulated in detail the functions of all intelligence agencies and the restrictions on their activities, especially on surveillance activities infringing on individual rights. It also explicitly prohibited all the secret activities conducted by the CIA within U.S. territory.

Carter purposely issued this decree to restrict the CIA a little, so that it could continue existing. However, the CIA was sapped by such a serious setback and many consequences followed.

First, morale was low. There was a prevailing idea of quitting in the minds of intelligence personnel. Many veterans with much experience were leaving one after another. It was disclosed that in the 4 years when Carter was in office, nearly 2,800 intelligence officers, including those who had not yet reached retirement age, retired from their work. In the past 10 years, the number of intelligence analysts and overseas special agents were reduced by 25 percent. A veteran special agent sighed with feeling: "Almost the whole generation of professional personnel brought up in the past 40 years has left the intelligence agencies." Even those who still remain in the CIA are also distracted and listless. Casey, the present CIA director, admits that: "The CIA is suffering from a self-doubt disease which is characteristic of this profession."

Second, the so-called "intellectual industry" in the United States, such as many journalistic organizations, universities and large enterprises, refused or reduced their "cooperation" with the CIA and covering up for it. This makes

it difficult for the CIA to recruit intelligence personnel from these units or to carry out special agent activities in the names of these units. For years, the CIA was always very keen on recruiting journalists to collect intelligence, develop organizations and create public opinion for it. Recently, under public pressure, journalistic organizations have on the surface refused to cooperate with the CIA.

Third, the disclosure of the "Watergate incident" has made foreign intelligence personnel, who cooperated with the CIA previously, to doubt whether it is able to keep secrets. As a result, they are not willing to provide intelligence any more. The source of intelligence is thus limited.

It was reported that for quite some time, the so-called secret overseas activities of the CIA were almost at a standstill. Capacity to collect and analyze intelligence was greatly weakened. The quality of intelligence was taking a drastic turn downward. When Iran was politically in chaos in 1978, there was only one analyst who understood Persian but he had not been there for a long time. Therefore, when the Pahlavi Monarchy collapsed in 1978, it was impossible to provide President Carter with accurate intelligence. Even now, some Americans still regret that they could not predict the complete collapse of the Pahlavi Monarchy and save it from doom.

CSO: 4005/1133

METHOD OF CONTROLLING QUALITY OF POPULATION CENSUS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 1982 May 82  
pp 8, 5

[Article by Yang Rizhang [2799 2480 4545]: "Random Sampling of Quality After the Population Census"]

[Text] The party Central Committee and the State Council have made midnight of 1 July of this year the standard time for the third national population census. The registration form for the population census will be completed by census takers after talking to interviewees or the reporting persons. In general, the accuracy will be relatively high. For the 1 billion people in our country, more than 4 million census takers are needed. The fact that they come from various units, with different cultural levels learning abilities and social experiences, and that the great majority are engaged in census taking for the first time, in addition to many other factors, make mistakes in registration inevitable. In order to raise the quality of registration, there will be a comprehensive recheck after the census. But after the recheck there will still be mistakes in the population census forms. To control the quality of registration, it is necessary to do a random sampling.

Since it will be done after the registration, it is called a postcensus random sampling of quality. After registration is completed, there will be encoding, recording and numerical processing. Mistakes are likely to happen at each stage, affecting the quality of conclusion. But registration is the basis for all the ensuing tasks, thus the quality of registration has to be controlled.

In the first population census of our country, systemic sampling method was used in 23 provinces, 5 municipalities and 1 autonomous region to select 343 counties (municipalities) in which 52.95 million people, about 9 percent of the total registration, were rechecked for only 1 indicator of the total population. According to the result of the rechecking, repeated entry was 1.39 percent of the total rechecked population, missing 2.55 percent of the net population missing was 1.16 percent. During the second population census, 36.88 million or 5.31 percent of the census population were sampled. The sampling result indicated that repeated entry was 0.377 percent missing was 0.501 percent. In these two population censuses, there was no unified method in checking the quality; the scale of rechecking was relatively large, calling for greater manpower.



There are two purposes of quality rechecks. One is to evaluate the margin of error in national census taking and to alert statisticians of population census. The other is to analyze the reason leading to errors so as to seek methods for improvement.

In the third population census, a random sampling method will be used to recheck the quality. Therefore, in the July 1980 population census of Wuxi Municipality 1 percent of the resident units (production brigades) were included in the random sampling. Altogether Wuxi Municipality, 33 resident units, 12 production brigades and 1 boat brigade were sampled, totaling 5,907 people, which was 0.78 percent of the census population. The results of the random sampling were: for population number, error of 1 person, error rate of 0.17 percent; for number of households, no error; for sex, error of 2 persons, error rate 0.34 percent; for age, error of 42 persons, error rate 7.11 percent; for number of births, no error; for number of deaths, a deficiency of 3 persons, accounting for 9.091 percent of the number of deaths recorded in the census. The sampling result of Wuxi indicated that the quality of registration in our country was fairly high in relation to many countries in the world. In addition, from the sampling result of 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (because sampling size is smaller and in some provinces and municipalities sample capacity is small, the error is greater). The margin of error of the population figure is mostly less than 0.2 percent, age less than 10 percent, sex less than 5 percent. On the basis of local sampling results and the quality recheck of population census in foreign countries, we drafted a plan for the random sampling of quality. Major contents are:

A quality recheck sampling group is set up in the population census office in each province, municipality and autonomous region, responsible for sample selection and supervising random sampling of quality in countries, and municipalities. According to the random sampling method, each province or municipality under direct control of the central government selects 10 districts (municipalities, wards of municipalities under direct control of the central government), each autonomous region selects 5 counties (municipalities) from which each country (municipality) selects 4 communes (streets) in which one production brigade (resident group) will be randomly selected. The sample size will be 200,000 people, about 0.02 percent of the total population census. Each production brigade (resident group) is assigned four sampling census takers (of which one from the county or municipality will be the leader, one from the commune and street, one from the brigade and resident group). There will be more than 4,000 sample census takers in the country. It is planned to train the sample census takers from top to bottom. That is to say, the census office in the State Council trains the backbone of provincial sample census takers, who in turn train the county (municipality) cadres, who in turn train the 16 sample census takers for the district.

Sampling is done in the district where the chosen brigade or resident group is located, only single households are sampled; collective households are few and their situation very a great deal, therefore will not be sample.

Items to be sampled based on households are: the number of people in the household, births in 1981 and deaths in 1981. Those to be sampled based on individuals are: relation to the head of the household, sex, age and the household registration of people continually living in the household. The random sampling of quality will take place approximately from 25 July to 5 August.

Sampling census takers will be selected from the population census takers who display a higher level of competence. The work must be detailed, done household to household. The household registration can only serve as reference, not as the sole basis (of information). If a mistake is discovered, the census-taking leader, the sample census taker and the original census taker must work together to verify it and enter the result of the investigation in the quality sampling comparison table. (Under each sampling census item, there are population census, sampling and verification.)

The margin of error must be computed, such as the error of over-reporting, under-reporting, in the quality of the population figure, net difference of the population figure, sex difference, age difference, births and deaths, etc.

When the sample statistics are forwarded to higher levels, local census takers are required to analyze reasons for error. Finally, the population census office in the State Council will evaluate the quality of the task of the third national population census which will be published by the State Council.

9507

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WRITERS URGED TO DISCOVER IMAGE OF NEW SOCIALIST MAN

Beijing WENYIBAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 3, 1982, 7 Mar, pp 28-31

[Article by Wang Xianpei [3769 0341 7198] and Chen Xiangsheng [7115 3276 3932]: "The Key to Building the Image of a New Socialist Man Lies in Discovery"]

[Text] The times call for literature to depict the image of the new socialist man. How can we successfully portray the image of the new socialist man? Should we design and create it according to socialist principles? No. Should we pull it directly from life? Also unacceptable. The key to portraying the image of the new man lies in discovery. Only when writers make unique discoveries in life with historical and artistic vision can a new, artistically vital image of the new man be conceived, carried and brought to term. Comrade Du Pengcheng [2629 7720 4453] said that from ancient times until today great writers "have all been tremendously talented inventors." ("Speaking of Life and Creative Works," Huacheng Publishers, "Writers Speak of the Creative Act," p 67). This line shows great insight. But, more accurately, we should say that all great writers are discoverers with profound vision who are good at discovering beauty among the ordinary, the common, and the dirty and dusty phenomena of daily life, the soul of beauty and the beautiful people who give rise to or encapsulate the spirit of the times. Life continually produces new men, a fact that superior writers can acutely and promptly discover in "Hehua Dian" [Lotus Lake] by Sun Li [1327 3680], which is merely a description of several women at a certain time and place. But, through the eroding currents of several decades, this work has not only held its place, but has even grown in stature. What was the reason for this? It is because the author was able to observe the ordinary speech and behavior of young women everywhere in the revolutionary base areas of that time and from this discover their great spirit of optimism and dedication. Many works have reflected the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. "Who Is the Most Lovable Person?" made an especially profound impression on readers. What was the reason for this? It is because, majestically present in the persons of ordinary "simple" "soldiers," the author discovered in the [words illegible] of the mathematical genius Chen Jingrun a selfless quality and soaring vigor. In the reserved middle-aged intellectual Qin Guanshu, Huang Zongying [7806 1350 5391] discovered a passion for the people and the cause. Every successful artistic image of the new man has been a fresh discovery which the author has contributed to society.

Why are some of the images of the new man in literary works so stiff and lacking in charm? It is because writers have not discovered new men in their own lives, and can only parrot others and fill lines with a character's accomplishments in accordance with the conceptions and standards of social science. Why do the thinking and sentiments of the "new men" in certain works remind us of the personalities of fashionable Western youths? Because writers imitate and copy in place of discovering and creating. The social life of China in contemporary times has not been at all stingy toward writers seeking artistic material with which to portray a new man. We are all familiar with the words spoken by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1955: "Here there is another Chen Xuemeng. In China there are thousands of such heroes. It is too bad that writers have not gone about finding them." Unfortunately, the "finding" he spoke of cannot be explained as having contact with or interviewing, but involves discovering. There have been many writers who have gone to the countryside and who have understood the course of the mutual aid and cooperation movements and the achievements of progressive figures, but not all of them could sense and recognize the new character possessed by these figures and not all of them could discover the beautiful qualities in these figures that were suited to artistic expression. Rodin of France said it best: Beauty is everywhere. Our eyes do not lack beauty to see. They lack discovery. If there is to be gain, there must be loss. Discovery is the process of sifting, of refining. It is the first stage in the thought formation of an artist. If the image or appearance of a thing is one with its basic nature, then all scientific research is meaningless. Similarly, if a record of the behavior of the progressive people in life constituted the artistic image of the new man, then the difficult labor of the creative thinking of the artist would be extraneous.

Writers should not be satisfied to be explainers, but should also be educators. Literary works should become the textbooks of life. To do this, they must offer readers that which they have not directly seen in their lives. "What Is To Be Done?" by Chernyshevskiy fostered several generations of revolutionaries, primarily because of the image of the new man portrayed in it--the "ordinary new man," (Ropov) and (Weila), and especially the "outstanding new man," Rakhmetov--embodied the social ideals of the author. These social ideals were the highest standards reached by the people in searching for truth before Marxism appeared.

Discovery is required to create any artistic image, and this is especially true in creating the socialist image of the new man. One of the remarkable characteristics of life in the new historical period we are now in is its great diversity on a more solid foundation revolutionary tradition has achieved glory and the new ideological tide has been more widely understood and adopted; the older generation, which suffered setbacks and hardships, has carried out a more complete review of history, and the younger generation, which produced chaos and confusion, now pursues ideals even more persistently; new buds bursting forth cannot help but be mixed with sediment floating to the surface--between the elation of two victories there is always the intertwining of disappointment and doubt. What is obstruction? What is motivation? What is restoration? What is reform? These things cannot be distinguished clearly at a glance... Single shades of color and fixed focal points fall far short of reflecting the colorful variety of life, and bustling noise and mixed medodies cannot express the aspirations



of a deep-thinking nation. If we say that the light of fires and the haze of smoke on the battlefields of the past make it easy for today's writers to distinguish the new men of the past, then today the discovery of new men requires that writers separate the wheat from the chaff. The image of Liu Maomei in "Xi Xian Yishi" ["Anecdote of the Western Line"] has been praised by people, and not simply because this character was described as a warrior who sacrificed to protect the motherland, and even less because the author wrote of the wound in the soul of this warrior, but because in displaying the heroic behavior of this warrior with a wounded soul, the author hit on the yearning for ideals and glory and the devotion to responsibility and mission of young people. This image leads readers to believe that deep within our youth lie precious qualities and that they will wash away the dirt in their souls and touch off a magnificent explosion. Of course, Liu Maomei does not represent all contemporary youth, but the author's unique discovery and creation induces readers to look at this generation from a fresh perspective. Comrade Xu Huaizhong [1776 2037 0022], when speaking of understanding creative work, said: "One who does it must first be an intelligent explorer." "Without searching, without finding sustenance, one cannot come in contact with one's own true feelings, and one's work will be only a kite in the wind, floating wherever the wind blows. This is sad." ("Three Items in Creative Work Preparation," Huacheng Publishers, "Writers Speak of the Creative Act," p 102) If a writer has not carried out an arduous, deep search into life, how can he produce a character with such depth? How can he incorporate within his characters the brand new elements of the times? If he does not pay attention to this basic point and summarizes the "Xi Xian Yishi" experience into a "hero with a wound" formula to suit the conventions of the times and obtain a box office success, it will be hard for him not to miss the mark by being superficial.

In society, the incidents that most people consider to be beautiful and the figures that most people admire and praise are, of course, the important subjects that writers should extol. In their expression of these subjects writers must add their own unique understanding to the foundation of understanding that the masses have generally already reached, and unearth the beautiful qualities that the people have not yet noticed and whose value they have not yet recognized. But, discovering and describing the new men who have yet to receive the universal acknowledgement of society or who are still covered with sand is even more difficult. The ideological and artistic significance of images created in this way will always be greater and can awaken and startle us, touching the reader's soul and opening up new horizons. For example, the characters (Baower) and his mother, Nirovna, created by Gorkiy are such images. For a long time now, in contemporary Chinese literature we have paid too little attention to the ordinary figures who bend their backs and pull the towlines of life, and we must call this a flaw. In recent years, the people have more and more clearly sensed the existence of a prominent social problem, viz, that in every field and enterprise the burden on middle-aged workers has been too heavy and their remuneration too little. Comrade Chen Rong [6186 1369] did not really use material in this area in writing "Wenti Xiaoshuo" ["Problem Stories"]. She concentrated her efforts on depicting Lu Wenting, a type of new man that is common in life and yet has found insufficient expression in art. Lu Wenting is like a piece of uncarved jade, as common as light, which, after being delicately polished by a talented artisan, radiates dazzling splendor. Anyone who has read in "Ren Dao Zhongnian"



["People Reaching Middle-Age"] of the physically weak Chao Fuhe, who went through great hardships and turned herself into a middle-aged doctor while exhausting her physique nearly to the breaking point would recognize the significance of this model. Only by entering her inner world with the author can one avoid stopping at merely sympathizing and feeling dissatisfied because she was treated unfairly and be moved deeply by her virtue in burning the oil of her life in order to give warmth to others, by her attitude of living with unbending determination in humble tranquility and by her steadfastness in believing in life. Lu Wenting's image is a true depiction of socialist life, for there are numerous Lu Wenting's at every reader's side; the image of Lu Wenting is another outstanding creation by Chen Rong, and it is the first time we have recognized the reverence and preciousness of this type of personality. She is probably not the ideal heroic figure, but she allows people to see more accurately the reality of their own lives and makes them willing, along with the Lu Wenting's, to perform meaningful work earnestly in order to change the face of backward poverty.

No outstanding writer of any period overlooks the appearance in this life of new men, but some do, somewhat unconsciously, rely on their inherent talent as realist artists to capture images, some of which are almost inevitably a little fuzzy and unrealistic. Balzac, "in the only place at the time where one could find real people of the future, saw such a person"--a Communist Party hero of St. Mary's Convent, but he himself never accepted the political beliefs of the hero. Turgenev bravely praised people who were pushing for democracy, but nevertheless allowed their literary image, Bazurov, to die accidentally of disease because the writer did not have a deeper understanding of the new men of Russian society. Our writers are far more fortunate in that no other period has even had so many new men surging onto the scene as we have today, nor could the progressive figures of history have reached the lofty realm of the new men of today.

And previous societies were not able to offer the advantageous conditions enjoyed by writers today that allows them to make the acquaintance of and understand the new men that are continually being produced. Looking at the actual situation over the last few years, we still cannot say that our attention to and efforts toward creating the image of the new man have been sufficient. There are still some factors hindering our writers from reaching the vortex of life, discovering new men and creating images of the new man. For example, the traditional strength of custom is one obstacle. No doubt the source of sensitivity to new figures in the course of history lies in enthusiasm for the progressive cause and in the correct social viewpoint, but, in addition to these primary conditions, when writers observe life and analyze material, the far-reaching influence of traditional methods of thinking and writing cannot be ignored. Gorkiy said, "For thousands of years the 'great' moralists, religious leaders and writers who considered themselves men of foresight all enthusiastically devoted themselves to exposing the shortcomings of the working masses and the flawed work of the people, and said nothing about the primary causes of the shortcomings, of the virtues of the laboring people or of the significance of their honest labor." He also said, "We have learned from the bourgeoisie the evil habit of first searching for a man's faults, leaving us unable to estimate accurately the exuberance of the creative might of the Soviet Union." ("On 'Insignificant' People and Their Great Work," "Selected Essays On Literature," 1959,

pp 72-71) A part of bourgeois literature is a precious cultural resource of mankind, e.g., the critical realist literature. The major component and primary value of critical realist literature lies in its uncovering of the abuses and chronic sickness of capitalism. Critical realist writers in their works "first look for men's faults." The principles adhered to and the methods and techniques utilized in their writing all revolve around the axis of "looking for faults," which is not surprising. They have created dazzling masterpieces, and the principles, methods and techniques used in their writings have been transmitted to later writers through their works, with the result that "first looking for a man's faults" becomes, along with much useful artistic knowhow, a habit of those who do literary work--an "evil habit," hindering writers in the socialist age from carrying out their historic responsibility to discover and portray new men. This "evil habit" is not limited only to certain aspects of writing. Once we could not understand why some works describe the contemporary Chinese peasantry as uncivilized or semicivilized heathens, with no needs beyond biological requirements, with no spiritual life to speak of, and even with flawed expression and deportment, and whose external appearance is quite ugly. Perhaps the writers intended to expose the severity of the calamity caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques; perhaps the writers intended to arouse the people's enthusiasm so that they would rapidly change the face of rural life; perhaps the appearance of these characters is helpful in creating a diversity of artistic images...regardless, we still feel that at the very least such writing lacks originality and requires no great effort. It is much more difficult to discover hidden beauty in a backward area, a noble soul beneath a crude and awkward appearance and the persistent, flourishing vitality of the socialist system amid setbacks and countercurrents and to describe these vividly for readers and create rich, novel character images such as Pan Laowu in "Meiyou Hangbiaodi Heliu" ["Rivers Without Navigation Markers"], Chen Huansheng [7115 0346 3932] in "Chen Huansheng Zhuanye" ["Chen Huansheng Enters Civilian Life"], and Lao Huanong in "Diaohua Yandou" ["The Carved Pipe"].

People notice that in our literary it seems to be easier for us to impart vitality to villains, backward figures and characters undergoing transformation. In such cases we are clearly technically more proficient, and the flow of the writing is much smoother. Similarly, when the same writers portray the new men, their pens become sluggish and their writing childish. This is not hard to explain. In a very real sense, portraying the image of the new socialist man requires accumulating artistic experiences from scratch, because the experience of previous writers is insufficient. Bourgeois literature stumbled through several hundred years of writing in describing the characters of its own class, and only reached maturity in the latter part of the 19th century. Proletarian literature still cannot claim to have completed this process. Gorkiy, in "A Talk With the Youthful Members of an Assault Team Who Are Entering the Literary World," told of wanting to write of "the dramatic process of growth of the new man" in Soviet life because early on he perceived the elements of that life; he said, "I tried to write of it 10 times, but I could write nothing." ("Selected Essays on Literature," 1959, p 129) Great writers are always at the same time great thinkers, but the discoveries of writers in their formation of thought is different from the research in life of the thinkers. Writers, in discovering the beauty of new men, cannot depart from their form of expression, including the details of their

manners, manner of speech and actions, and, in describing them, they can even less depart from specific techniques and methods. Previously, we emphasized drawing a line between us and the two personalities into which the bourgeoisie is split, highlighting the bright era and class characteristics of the new socialist man, and of course, this is correct. The problem is that, when doing so, our theory, commentary and writing becomes monotonous. In recent years there has been a change and our writers have created a series of images of the new man, not only uncovering many aspects of society, but also exhibiting various unique personalities and using every kind of technique and method. For example, Jiang Zilong [5592 1311 7893] is good at getting a bird's eye view of real life and at sorting out the main threads from among intricate complicated contradictions. In blending together contradictions, he portrayed a steadfast, rugged pioneer and hacked out what seems to be a rough and jagged stone carving of Qiao Guangpu. Lu Wenting seems to be a meticulously wrought, exquisite jade carving. The writer described at great length the details of her life, drawing the readers deep into the thoughts and feelings of her characters. Wang Meng [3769 5536] always purposely describes the appearance of characters, abandoning the continuity of the plot and the completeness of the story. He uses the lively psychological life of the characters to dissect social conditions and reaches his goals of reflecting the style of the times and depicting the personalities of the characters. His works are vast in scope and have strong appeal. In "Bu Li," the absolute Bolshevik sincerity of Zhong Yicheng touched the heart-strings of many readers.

In portraying the new socialist man, we must on the one hand overcome the harmful influence of bourgeois habits, and on the other hand eliminate the fetters of leftist ideology. When leftist ideology was spreading, the call for portraying the new man was heard loud and clear. But the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were promoting the leftist line that fostered the most hateful form of expression--the bourgeois habit of "first looking for a man's faults." They smothered anything new and destroyed the noble sentiments and pure character of the laborers and revolutionaries. And even today the existence of residual leftist tendencies remains an important reason for our dulled awareness of new developments in life. For many writers, the discovery of new men and the creation of the image of the new man have actually been products of their artistically courageous split with and struggle against the tide of leftist tendencies. Qiao Guangpu and Ding Meng are fearless heroes who dared to attack the poison deposited in the body of society by the leftist line. "Xiangchang Shang" ["In the Countryside"] reflects the nightmare of peasants attempting to escape the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the process of growth from feelings of inferiority to a spirit of confidence and self-respect. When some works describing the excellence of new men came out, they met with accusations and reproach, making it even clearer that expressing the rich and complex inner world of the people of the new era, describing the formation of their new moral conceptions and sentiments, and extolling the new figures on the new Long March require that writers move forward in throwing off the fetters of leftist prejudice.

9705

CSO: 4005/852

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### EDITOR URGES SUSTAINED REVOLUTIONARY BELIEF

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 3

[Commentary by Lo Zhijun [5012 1807 6511] in response to letter from reader Xing Quan [6717 2938] of Hebei: "Can People Be Forced To Join the League?"]

[Text] Comrade Editor:

I am a nonmember of the League; I do not wish to join the League organization. Because, as I can see, among the League members with whom I have had contact some can never play a model role nor are they even as good as the common youths. Yet, recently my teacher criticized me, saying that I failed to make progress and lacked a firm belief. I cannot understand this; can it be that whether or not a person joins the League can be forced?

Xing Quan, Hebei

Fellow Student Xing Quan:

Whether or not a youth joins the League depends entirely on his own free will; how can it be "forced" upon him? However, I discover that the reason you do not wish to join the League is because you see that some League members have failed to play a model role nor are they as good as the common youths; so that you have lost faith. This, then, is by no means a question of your not having a basic belief consistent with that of the League; it is only one of your lacking an overall comprehension of the unwholesome situations that have appeared in the country.

The fact that there exists in our actual life a situation in which "League members are not as good as the common youths" is both strange and yet not so strange. If we say that it is strange, it is because the Communist Youth League is an organization of advanced youths and all its members therefore should play a model role and become examples to all youths and should not adopt a careless and casual outlook and fall behind other youths, and thereby damage the image of the League. If we say it is not so strange, it is because our CYL members are not alone on an isolated island; among them are some weak-minded ones who are unable to withstand corrosion by the fiends of the exploitative classes and thereby lose their advanced character or even are led astray. This is by no means avoidable. There are some who are liable to turn into "deserters" at any time, and in addition there has been a historical background of the 10-year internal disturbance which is still with us.



When we observe things, we must be good at grasping their essence and refrain from being misled by partial and individual phenomena. Just as from a single drop of water we can see the sea, yet that drop of water itself is nonetheless not the whole sea; those "stragglers" in the country, indeed, reflect the question of the impurity of the ranks of the League, but they by no means represent the entire organization of the League. Since its birth, the CYL has acquired a glorious history of 60 years; as an intimate assistant of the party and a school for youths to study communism during these years, the CYL has trained for, and transferred to, the party hundreds and thousands of fine talents. In our enterprises of revolution and construction, the vast ranks of our League members have won the trust of youths of the whole country with their vanguard and model roles. In uniting together, educating, and leading millions of youths and children to shoulder their historical mission, they have played an especially important part. While during the 10-year internal disturbance the organization of the League suffered serious destruction, its organic body as a whole has remained healthy. A factory League committee once conducted a public opinion poll to let youths vote for "the persons you most admire"; the poll, it turned out, invariably had League members as those chosen. They likewise asked their teachers to select "the youths you feel most satisfied with"; in the end these selections were almost entirely League members. This shows that when we think about a question or look at things, we must always do so in an overall manner and not mistake the part as the whole. If, because of temporarily existing phenomena we should become easily shaken in our pursuit of membership in the League, that would be hardly advisable.

In the course of our life, a firm revolutionary belief is extremely important. I don't know whether you have thought about why, during the period of the "4 May" Movement, many revolutionary youths refused to bend before difficulties or bow before bayonets and ultimately became the core and pillars of the Chinese revolution? Why, while some performed well at the time, they later went astray and ultimately were discarded by their times? This is because the former not only were fired by a patriotic zeal and a just thrust for national salvation, but they also had a firm revolutionary belief. This belief guided them to seek the truth of Marxism as if they were thirsty and hungry for it, and they "never regretted even as they grew older and older." But in the case of the latter, while they were at first duly agitated and also took action, because they lost their revolutionary belief when the revolution encountered setbacks, they eventually turned into renegades. Such a historical experience and lesson remains precious to our youths of today.

Fellow student Xing Quan, this is a rudimentary view on my part; if it falls short of your expectation, I welcome your correction.

Lo Zhijun

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CSO 4005/935



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TAMPERING WITH FACTS IN NEWS REPORTING CRITICIZED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 26 May 82 p 1

[Article by De Kun [1795 0981]: "News Reporting Must be Fully Authentic"]

[Text] It is decided that due to the nature of proletarian journalism and in the spirit of the party newspapers, news reporting must be authentic. News is to publicize the lines, principles and policies of the party through reporting facts. The masses believe merely in facts and truth. Only authentic news can play a role in educating and encouraging the people. News inconsistent with the facts not only will become combat-worthless, but will also cause party newspapers to deviate from the masses and thereby damage the revolutionary cause.

The authenticity of news reporting means that all the facts covered in a case, including the name of a person or a place, time, figure, story, introduction, and so forth must be accurate and correct, without fabrications or mistakes. At the same time, analysis and interpretation of the facts must be scientific and in keeping with the true features of the objective things. Statistical figures concerned with auto-prefectures, counties and individual units quoted in news dispatches must first be checked by the statistical departments of these auto-prefectures and counties.

In order to make news reporting authentic, it is necessary in the first place to adhere to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. That is to say, news must be reported in earnest by facts on the basis of objective reality. It has to be reported in accordance with the actual facts exactly as it has happened. It is not allowed to embellish a story, not to mention writing fictitious ones. A small number of correspondents have not been conscientiously approaching this matter of principle, therefore, news covered by them usually appears to be inconsistent with the facts. For instance, a news release regarding the situation of production of a hardware factory in Pingluo County covered by a correspondent has been proved to be untrue, because the output value of this factory in January this year was 20,000 yuan less than that of the same period of last year. In spite of the fact, he abruptly reported that its output value in January this year was a more than 6,000 yuan gain compared with that of the corresponding period of last year. As soon as this kind of news appears in the newspapers, people immediately recognize that it is but a deception, which creates a serious impact on the prestige of news reporting.

In order to make news reporting authentic, it is also necessary to conscientiously do a good job in investigation and research, to actively understand the objective reality in a correct way and to appropriately reflect it. Many unauthentic news reportings are a result of lack of investigation or making an inaccurate investigation report. This is usually associated with the fact that some people are habituated to adopting such illusive attitudes as slapdash, hearsay and making reports without a solid ground. In order to put an end to mistakes, we advocate a "three-fold checking," which means that a news release written by a correspondent must be brought to the party concerned, to the leadership of the unit, and to the masses for checking the facts, so that the writer can draw on collective wisdom and absorb all useful ideas.

We must insist on the principle that the source of news reporting must be a fact, that news is a report of the fact and that fact comes before news. In our news report, we must not take an estimate as a fact, nor regard anything being planned as having already been done. It is not allowed to transpose the order of fact and news, otherwise news reporting will become inconsistent with the fact.

Besides, from the viewpoint of writing, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between news reporting and literary works. Literary and artistic works may have a summation, a concentration, or an enhancement of facts in life. However, news reporting must be fully authentic, without adding imagination. Some correspondents have adopted the method of literary and artistic creation in writing news reports. This is not permissible. For instance, a correspondent of a factory in Yinchuan Municipality who was influenced by a piece of fiction appearing in the RENMINWENXUE describing how a factory director promoted the sale of his products, fabricated a piece of news describing how hard the director of his factory tried to market his products. He sent it to a newspaper. The editor of the newspaper, after going through the story, felt that it was a lively one and was ready to use it. Fortunately, a factfinding process helped to discover that it was a fabrication. A false news reporting was thus avoided.

It is hoped that every correspondent of the party newspapers can conscientiously adhere to the principle that news reporting must be authentic, so that we can improve the quality of the party newspapers.

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CSO: 4005/933

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### PERFORMANCE OF LOCAL PUBLIC SECURITY STATION COMMENDED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Article by Fan Xuezhong [5400 1331 1813], internee, Journalism Department, People's University: "Public Security Station at Bikou, Wen Xian, Actively Demonstrates Its Functional Role—Let Us Strengthen Our Basic Work and Rectify Our Social Order"]

[Text] The Bikou public security station under the Public Security Bureau of Wen Xian has earnestly strengthened its basic work, conscientiously rectified the local social order, given scope to forthrightness and gotten rid of unhealthy practices, so that there has been a conspicuous turn for the better in local security. In the first quarter of this year, the rate of occurrence of criminal cases has been reduced by 59 percent compared to that of the corresponding period last year.

Most recently, this reporter came to understand while in the Bikou area that the local masses have generally acquired a sense of security, and their production and life in general are now in good order. In the market places, people went about their affairs in a hustling and bustling but highly joyous atmosphere; there was seldom any disruption of orderly activity in evidence. Said the masses: With the party and the government backing us and with people's police as our guards, we are certainly not afraid of criminal elements making trouble.

The Bikou public security station has jurisdiction over 5 communes and Bikou itself in southeastern Wen Xian; its total population amounts to more than 67,000 and it accommodates 42 units under the direct jurisdiction of the province. This station is situated in the joint border district of the three provinces of Shenxi, Gansu and Sichuan, with the Sichuan-Gansu highway running directly through it; the turnover rate of its personnel is considerable, and the place has thus become one where criminal elements feel free to make their presence felt. Since 1979, because of various reasons the local social security question has been very salient; at one time, cases such as robbery on the highway, burglary and swindling, gathering a crowd to make trouble, etc., continued to occur, resulting in a situation in which everybody felt threatened. The masses complained a great deal. "When they are engaged in production, they are not calm; when they go out, they can hardly relax; and they often find things not going their way"; such a situation seriously affected the order of their life as well as industrial and agricultural production.

In order to reverse such an unwholesome situation in the local social security and social order, this station, through a great deal of work, seized relevant opportunities, looked into sample cases, and inspected criminal activities by legal means in its effort to deter the criminal elements. Beginning from January of last year, they have fought sustained battles to ferret out at various points four robbery and burglary syndicates that had been threatening the security of the local district. Assisting the superior level, they arrested according to law the culprits among their members who had aroused great popular indignation and severely punished them accordingly. Criminal Bo Jinge [2672 6855 7704] was the ringleader of one of those syndicates; had become a habitual burglar and often resorted to open robbery, molesting women, and he even gathered his cohorts together to besiege cadres on guard duties. He was most severely punished.

Since the beginning of this year, the Bikou station, for the sake of establishing further stability in the local social security and social order, has placed emphasis on four aspects of basic work.

--Grasping closely the work of education and the rescue of fallen youths and children. Through analysis of sample cases, they discovered that criminal offenses by youths and children were very high in proportion to others and this had constituted an important reason why the situation in social security had been so bad. Hence, on the basis of the characteristics and psychology of such youths and children they proceeded with their work in educating and persuading them, thus giving them an opportunity to establish concepts about the legal system, about honor and dishonor, and about beauty and ugliness. They ran five consecutive study classes altogether and sought out several dozen persons for individual chats. During this process of ideological education, the cadres and policemen themselves took great care to note the impact of their own words and deeds, in each case, on the fallen youths and children; they refrained from discriminating against them and from preaching to them, but, instead, sought to enlighten them with reason, point out a clear path to them, treat them with sincerity, and influence them with enthusiasm.

--Actively doing a good job in household registration management and in learning about the activity patterns of the population. They looked over a great deal of relevant data, consulted together, paid visits to the masses, convened 12 background-study meetings, and thereby achieved a general awareness as to what was going on. They also strengthened their links with the defense departments of concerned units in order to exchange information and carry out joint defense.

--Making firstline defense outposts out of theaters, hotels and public places of the like, they adopted effective measures to stand guard at the right spots.

--Strengthening the political and professional training of the cadres and policemen themselves. Most of the nine cadres and policemen of the Bikou station are new comrades transferred there during the past 2 years; they are still unfamiliar with their jobs. On the basis of this situation, they formulated a political and professional training system to enable them to study while they worked and to help each other. They also formulated an individual station responsibility system, inspected performances at fixed intervals, and aired criticisms as well as commendations. Today, the political and professional level of the cadres and policemen here has been generally elevated.



UNIVERSITY STRIVES TO HELP INTELLECTUALS

Gansu GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 4

[Article: "Lanzhou University Actively Improves Its Policy on Helping Intellectuals"]

[Text] While investigating the implementation of the policy of helping intellectuals the Lanzhou University party committee held many conferences of intellectuals to hear a broad range of viewpoints in order to improve the policy on intellectuals. The university's democratic groups also held several conferences and actively joined in these efforts.

Beginning in the last 10 days of March, the Lanzhou University party committee acted in accordance with the spirit of the provincial party committee and initiated an overall investigation into the implementation of the policy on intellectuals. The party committee decided to organize under an assistant party committee secretary to recruit the proper responsible comrades in each unit to conduct the investigation. In the process of conducting this investigation the party committee first held four broad conferences to review and analyze the policy on intellectuals over the past several years and study actions for the future. The university party committee, party committees from all university departments and the university's democratic groups altogether held 30 conferences of people from the democratic groups, middle-aged educators and intellectual cadres performing political work. There was a total of over 20,000 person-time participations, and a broad range of views from all sectors was heard. It was generally felt in the conferences that since smashing the "gang of four" and especially since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress that the Lanzhou University party committee performed a great amount of work and achieved great success in implementing the policy on intellectuals. During the "Cultural Revolution" cases were opened against 219 educators, but all have been concluded and at present the overturned, false and mistaken cases have basically been all wrapped up. Since 1978, 51 intellectuals (including 9 assistant professors and 31 lecturers) have been accepted for party



membership. The university elected 74 seasoned, vigorous intellectuals to assume the university and departmental leadership tasks. During the last 4 years, the university has promoted, appointed and restored a total of 147 assistant and full professorships; promoted 422 lecturers and appointed 19 engineers and technicians. The university requires a complement of assistants for 33 full and assistant professors and so far 30 of them have the requisite assistants or have established scientific research collectives. In recent years, 67 teachers have been provided with housing and 42 intellectuals of lecturer level and above were able to resolve the problem of husbands and wives living apart.

At the same time, everyone pointed out that at present, middle-aged intellectuals especially still are faced with some political and concrete problems. At Lanzhou University the middle-aged faculty, ranging from 36-55 years old, occupies 66.6 percent of the entire faculty. There are many of these people, they have heavy responsibilities, and for the most part are core teachers or researchers, and many of them have made great contributions. However, their salaries are low, many of them live in cramped quarters, their work conditions are inferior and some wives and husbands must live apart. Intellectuals who engage in party political work also are faced with concrete problems which must be solved. Such problems have become matters of concern for many middle-aged intellectuals and have to a certain degree affected their teaching, scientific research and other work. Therefore, the policy on intellectuals at Lanzhou University has focused on middle-aged intellectuals with the goal of helping them alleviate their concerns and permit them to concentrate their energies on teaching and on scientific work. The university will quickly resolve whatever problems it can and those problems it cannot resolve quickly will be divided into separate categories and cases will be opened for actions to take place at the appropriate pace. This will make progress in correctly carrying out the policy on intellectuals.

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CSO: 4005/934

BEIJING TEACHERS' COLLEGE IMPROVES INTELLECTUALS' CONDITIONS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] According to the reporter Li Wei [2621 5588], this June the Beijing Teachers' College will initiate a program of physical checkups for middle-aged teaching staff and workers as well as other workers and will conduct gynaecology examinations of female staff and workers. These college checkups for the intellectuals are actions which result from mass opinion on policy improvements.

The college's work on the policy regarding intellectuals began on April 12. The following problems are completely or partially resolved: teachers above the 3rd rank who leave campus on business will have college cars both ways. Construction funds totaling 150,000 yuan will be used to strengthen child care facilities and take care of an additional 55 children. Public telephones will be provided for off-campus teaching staff and worker living areas. Ten people have already expressed some views regarding the results of these policy implementations and preparations for re-investigation have already begun. For full and assistant professors above the 6th rank who have many years of service, are in ill health and have trouble getting around as well as others of comparable status who have retired or resigned, four experienced medical personnel will go to their homes at arranged times to give physical exams. Adjustments will be made in some dependent housing to provide middle-aged core educators with necessary housing. During the 10 years of chaos the private homes of 53 teaching staff and workers were occupied. Steps are being taken to solve the problem of those houses which have been converted into offices.

The Beijing Teacher's College is one of the units which began this work the earliest and has performed it with the most care. The policy investigation work focuses on cadres at lecturer and engineer level and above, and over 1,300 people fall into the scope of the project. During this process counselors will hold conferences with the participants to gather their opinions.

11582  
CSO: 4005/934

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SELF STUDY STUDENTS TAKE HIGHER EDUCATION EXAMINATION

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] On June 6, the Beijing Municipal Higher Education Self-Study Examination Committee held its first professional examination. The subject was Chinese literature and the course under examination was the outline of Chinese literature. In accordance with registration requirements the 604 registrants had already qualified by sitting for the university humanities and science public language course examination.

The participants in this examination came from 68 districts and counties throughout the city and included workers, teachers and administrative cadres as well as unemployed and crippled youths. At 8:30 am on June 6, Zang Boping [5258 0130 1627] the Vice Minister of the All China Staff and Workers Education Management Committee and Bai Jiefu [4101 0094 1133] vice mayor of Beijing and Chairman of the Beijing Higher Education Self-Study Examination Committee arrived at the examination site to observe the participants.

It is reported that in the latter half of this year Beijing will hold examinations in 6 subjects in 3 professions. The registration will take place on September 1-10 and the examination will take place October 17. The areas to be tested are as follows: in Chinese language and literature--modern language, logic and composition; in law--basic legal theory and the history of the Chinese legal system; in industrial economics--introductory management of industrial economics.

11582  
CSO: 4005/934

TIBETAN VETERINARIAN IN JAPAN FOR ADVANCED TRAINING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jun 82, p 1

[Text] The recent news that Ma Zhijun [7802 1807 6511], a young Tibetan veterinarian from Qinghai province went to Japan for advanced training became common knowledge in every tent in the Xianmi pasturelands beneath the Qilian mountains.

Ma Zhijun is 25 years old and has been a sheep herder since his youth. At age 15 he finished elementary school and was sent to the Qinghai provincial Huangyuan Animal Husbandry School for study. After graduation he returned home to become a veterinarian in the Xianmi Commune in the Menyuan Moslem autonomous county of Haibei Tibetan autonomous prefecture.

To avail himself of advanced technology published in foreign languages and transform conditions in his homeland, Ma Zhijun purchased Japanese language radio course materials and set the goal of foreign language self-study. Before long he joined the provincial intensive Japanese language course.

He began with mimicry, then memorized single words and practiced conversation, and in the evenings he practiced writing. He usually carried a pocket transistor radio with him and never missed an opportunity to practice speaking or to improve his listening comprehension. After taking a proficiency examination he finally obtained the level of skill set by the Foreign Study Institute and became the first minority nationality cadre from Qinghai province to be selected for study abroad.

11582  
CSO: 4005/934

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

CHILD BEATEN FOR FATHER'S ACTIONS; JUSTICE DEMANDED

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 18 May 82 p 1

[Article: "Retaliation by Doing Violence to a Youth Is Not Allowed by the Law"]

[Text] My Dear and Respectful Uncles and Aunts:

My name is Yang Huabin [2799 5478 1758], a 13-year-old student in the 5th grade in primary school. As soon as I awoke, I am now tearfully writing to you to relate my misfortunes.

My father wrote to his superior departments concerned in October, 1981 to expose the crimes committed by Deputy Secretary Xu Baoyou [6079 0202 0645] of the brigade party branch, who has, in partnership with others, grafted grain funds originally provided for disaster relief, secretly run underground factories, practiced usury in society and engaged in speculation and profiteering. Since then, Xu Baoyou has frequently been sending someone to my school beating and dressing me down. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of 19 April this year, while I was playing on the school playground, Xu Biao [6079 1753], the younger brother of Xu Baoyou, came to me and beat me up. After regaining consciousness from a faint, I was again intercepted by Xu Baoyou on my way home. He fiercely slapped my face and I once again fell unconscious. Thanks to Grandpa Huang Mengcai [7806 1322 2088] and many others who came to my help, I narrowly escaped from being killed. When I was in the hospital, I was told that the assailant who had fiercely beaten me up was put under detention only for 15 days. Both my teachers and schoolmates felt that it is too indiscreet to handle this matter that way.

My dear and respectful uncles and aunts, all my family members were fiercely beaten up because of my father's action to expose evildoers and evil deeds. What was this for? Will you please speak out for me?

[Signed] Yang Huabin  
A 5th Grade Student  
Yangchai Primary School  
Zhongtuan Commune  
Lixin County, Anhui Province



## Investigation Report:

The event reflected in the letter from Yang Huabin, a 5th grade student in the Yangchai Primary School of Zhongtuan Commune, Lixin County, Anhui Province that he had been fiercely beaten up by Xu Baoyou, the deputy secretary of the brigade party committee, has been proved to be absolutely true through investigation.

Yang Huabin is the son of a locally selected teacher Yang Simin [2799 1835 3046]. In 1976, soon after retiring from active service, Yang Simin witnessed that Xu Baoyou, the deputy secretary of the brigade party branch, who had built himself up by relying on "cutting the tails of capitalists" in his party line education work, and been admitted to the party and selected to be a party cadre on the same day, has frequently been beating people up without any reason, using funds generated from remitting commune members' agricultural tax or from relief funds for practicing extravagant eating and drinking, lending money at usury by taking advantage of others' predicaments, and practicing speculation and profiteering. In the second half of 1978, he [Yang Simin] started to expose the problems of Xu Baoyou and others to departments concerned in Lixin County and Anhui Province, and to the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Over the past 4 years, Yang Simin mailed more than 180 letters to bring facts to light. Since we started cracking down on criminal activities in the economic field, the leadership of the prefecture and the county have taken the matter seriously. In mid-April 1982, the Lixin County Party Committee sent out a special investigation group to investigate the problems of Zhongtuan Commune.

For this reason, Xu Baoyou and others have taken a stronger dislike towards Yang Simin.

Sometime after 3 o'clock in the afternoon of 19 April, when Xu Baoyou and another fellow passed by Huang-Pai-Fang-Cun [7806 3654 0972 2625] on their way to a wedding party, they picked a quarrel with two grain bin peddlers on the sidewalk. Li Yuxi [2621 3768 0823], a youth who happened to be visiting his relatives in Huang-Pai-Fang, was badly beaten up because he wanted to be fair. Yang Huabin, who was among the more than 100 students of Yangchai Primary School who crowded around when they heard of the accident after class, chanced to be met by Xu Biao [6079 1753] who came to assist in the fighting. Consequently, it was followed by the incident of Yang Huabin's being beaten up.

The action of Xu Baoyou to retaliate by doing violence to a youth roused the masses on the scene to great indignation. They criticized Xu Baoyou one after another and protected the injured Yang Huabin. In the evening, when Yang Simin returned home and heard of his son's being beaten up, he went to see Xu Baoyou to reason things out, and he was also beaten up.

The events of both Yang Simin and his son's being beaten because of exposing evildoers and evil deeds has roused great indignation among the local people. On the other hand, some of the leading members of the Zhongtuan Commune Party Committee paid no heed to it. Yang Simin had no money for his son to see a doctor. When he came to the commune party committee for help, not only did they treat him with indifference, but individual leaders even criticized comrades in the special investigation group for giving 5 yuan to Yang Simin. They also made known to the public that they would immediately release Yang Simin from his present job as a locally selected teacher.

The case of Yang Huabin's being beaten by both Xu Baoyou and Xu Biao is purely a case of retaliation. The case is a very serious and vicious one. The masses in the locality are discontented with the punishment of only 15 days of detention (actually, one has been put under detention for only 12 days, and the other only 9 days) imposed on both Xu Baoyou and Xu Biao as a disciplinary sanction by the public security bureau based on the fact that they have beaten others up. For the purpose of protecting the physical and mental health of children and guaranteeing the safety of those who have exposed evildoers and evil deeds, and in order to ensure that activities for cracking down economic crimes can be carried out smoothly, the masses strongly demand that the public security organ reconsider this case.

[Signed] Chang Tao [1728 3447]  
The Reporter

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CSO: 4005/933

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

**JILIN SCHOOL-RUN ENTERPRISES**--School-run enterprises in Changchun, Jilin Province, netted an average 18 million yuan annually in the past 3 years. This accounts for 47 percent of the outlay for education appropriated by the state. According to statistics made available at the national forum on the work-study program of primary and secondary schools sponsored by the ministry of education, Changchun leads the province when this percentage is considered. There are over 1,200 schoolrun workshops and 1,900 small farms in Changchun.

[Text] [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Jul 82 SK]

**GUANGDONG LITERATURE SYMPOSIUM**--A symposium to discuss literary works of Taiwan and Hong Kong was held from 10 to 16 June in Guangzhou, Guangdong. The symposium, the first of its kind, was attended by some 60 scholars, experts and researchers on Taiwan and Hong Kong literature. Noted writer (Qin Mu) addressed the symposium, stressing that Chinese literature should include the literature of Taiwan and Hong Kong and pointing out the significance of the study of literary works written by Taiwan and Hong Kong writers and of academic exchanges with them. [Text] [OW271221 Beijing Domestic service in Mandarin 0900 GMT 21 Jun 82]

**QINGHAI MINORITY VISITING GROUP**--A visiting group made up of 20 students of a minority cadre training class at Qinghai Postal and Telecommunications School recently went to Beijing for a visit and study. Bainqen Erdini Qoigyf Gyaincain, vice chairman of the NPC standing committee, and Wen Minsheng, minister of posts and telecommunications, received them on separate occasions. [Text] [SK132238 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Jul 82]

**JILIN MATHEMATICS WORK CONFERENCE**--A work conference on compiling experimental teaching materials for middle schools' mathematics course held by the ministry of education in Changchun, Jilin Province, concluded on 17 July. Attending the conference were 38 responsible persons in charge of this work and representatives of experimental schools from 22 provinces and municipalities in China. At present, 90 classes from 45 middle schools in 22 provinces and municipalities have adopted these experimental teaching materials. [Text] [SK190017 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Jul 82]

**JILIN CENSUS REGISTRATION WORK**--Jilin Province has completed the registration work in the national census. According to preliminary statistics, there are

22.48 million people throughout the province who have registered in the provincial census. The province is engaging in the registration work of floating population. [Text] [SK190006 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 17 Jul 82]

**JILIN BIRTH-CONTROL ACHIEVEMENTS**--Jilin Municipality in Jilin Province has scored achievements in family planning work after the enforcement of production responsibility systems in rural areas. In 1981 the municipality declined its population growth rate to 8.24 per thousand and won the top-grade title in the work throughout the province. Great contributions to this achievement were made by the party and CYL members. According to incomplete statistics, 94.6 percent of party and CYL members in the municipality have pledged to have one child in their life. [Text] [SK190006 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 17 Jul 82]

**WRITERS ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP**--Beijing 6 Jul (XINHUA)--The Chinese Writers Association admitted 176 new members in the past 6 months to bring the total membership to 1,717, according to association sources. They include winners of national prizes for short stories and novelettes in the past few years. Twenty-three of them are from minority nationalities. The association's various branches in the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are a large reserve force from which the national association draws its members. A survey conducted 2 years ago showed that they had about 7,000 members. The fast expanding branches maintain close contact with large numbers of promising young people who are writing and publishing in sparetime. The national association has doubled its membership since it resumed activities in 1978. [Text] [OW080835 Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 6 Jul 82]

**ENROLLED GRADUATE STUDENTS**--Beijing, 9 Jul (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Sciences has enrolled 1,345 graduate students to study for masters of science degrees starting in the autumn semester. Most of the enrollees are graduates of major universities in the country and are under the age of 25, the youngest is 15. They will study mathematics, physics, chemistry, earth science, biology, technology and other specialties in 110 research institutes under the academy. This is the fifth group of graduate students to enroll in the academy since the graduate program was reintroduced in 1978. [Text] [OW080835 Beijing XINHUA in English 1223 GMT 9 Jul 82]

**STUDENTS RECEIVE DEGREES**--The Nei Monggol University and the Nei Monggol Teachers' College recently held strict proficiency tests for 12 master's degree candidates in the humanities and science departments. They were the first group from the Nei Monggol autonomous region to receive the master's degree. Most of them used their minority nationality language for study and research. Under the industrious counseling of their academic advisors they wrote rather valuable research papers in various subject areas, producing some new viewpoints and filling in information gaps. Their efforts were approved by both experts and academics. [Text] [Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 82 p 1] 11582

NO RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES--Communists are atheists; those who believe in religions are theists: these are two opposite world views. Communists can only believe in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and are definitely not allowed to believe in religions or to participate in religious activities. Our policy of freedom of religious beliefs is formulated on the basis of historical conditions and the level of ideological consciousness on the part of the masses. In respect to the religious activities of the masses, communists must follow the party's policy of not interfering with them. The participation in religious activities by individual party members is mainly a question of ideological perception; but it plays a corrosive role in the purity of our party organization and therefore must be looked at seriously. Among them we must carry out materialist and atheist education and education on the Marxist view of religion in order to elevate their political consciousness, enable them to cast off religious concepts and strive to contribute their strength to the construction of the four modernizations, struggle for the realization of communism. With respect to party members who, after patient education and persuasion, still insist on believing in religions and participating in religious activities, we may advise them to withdraw from the party in order to preserve the advanced character and purity of our party organization. [Text] [Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 82 p 4] 9255

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## SLOGAN 'LITERATURE AND ART SERVE POLITICS' CRITICIZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1982 pp 55, 56

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Wang Ruoshui Criticizes the Slogan 'Literature and Art Serve Politics'"]

[Text] On 28 April this year, RENMIN RIBAO published a speech given by Wang Ruoshui at the National Symposium on the Theory of Literature and Art for Higher Learning Institutes that was held at Lushan in August 1980. The topic of the speech was "Literature and Art, Politics, People." Wang Ruoshui is deputy editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO and also one of the important theoreticians of the reformist faction within the CCP. In the sixties (before the "cultural revolution") he did research on Marx' and Engle's theories of alienation, and in recent years he has maintained that, on the issue of criteria for truth, a new problem of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is needed and that practice must be relied on in order to add new knowledge of capitalism and socialism. This speech at the Lushan conference was especially aimed at the question of literature and art, and its central idea was the repudiation of the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

Attending the Lushan symposium on the theory of literature and art were teachers from 126 colleges and universities throughout the nation and over 40 writers, critics, and editors from publishing organizations and the media. The conference was presided over by Chen Huangmei [7115 5435 3561], and talks were given by Ding Ling [0002 3781], Wang Xiyan [3769 6007 1750], Bai Hua [4101 2901] and others. What is odd, however, is that this symposium took place in August 1980, 20 months ago. Why was the publication of Wang Ruoshui's speech delayed until now? It is alleged that the present publication is only a part, certainly not all, of Wang's speech, and that it was revised and amended by the author himself. In any case, this is an important and weighty work that deserves our attention.

### The Damage of "Literature and Art Serve Politics"

Within the literary and art realm of the CCP, the slogan "literature and art serve politics" has long been popularized. Who after all came up with the slogan? The source can be traced back to Mao Zedong's talk at the Yanan forum of literature and art held in 1942. In that famous speech Mao held

that "In the world at present, all culture or literature and art belong to a particular class and to a particular political line.... Art that parallels politics or is independent of politics is actually nonexistent." From this, he affirmed that "literature and art are a part of politics." This, then, is the theoretical foundation of the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

In my view, the theory put forth by Mao Zedong, "literature and art serve politics," mainly proceeds from political utilitarianism but is not a correct application or elaboration of Marxism and the materialist conception of history. In the Yenan period a group of intellectuals who were inclined toward revolution surged from the White area. They constituted the ranks of writers and artists of the CCP's Red area, and they also added to the trouble of the CCP's thought control work. The Yenan forum on literature and art was convened for this kind of situation, and Mao's speech was also given for this kind of situation. The reason he proclaimed "literature and art are subordinate to politics" was because he wanted to put in correct order the relationship between the party and the intellectuals. Everyone knows that the CCP controlled political affairs (at that time in the Red area, and at the same time had control of political power). If "literature and art are subordinate to politics," then the intellectuals who engaged in literary and art work certainly had to be subordinate to the party and party leaders. If literature and art "belong to a particular political line," then the intellectuals who engaged in literary and art work certainly had to be subordinate to the party's political line.

In order to further define the relationship between the party and the intellectuals, Mao Zedong particularly quoted Lenin, pointing out that literature and art were only a part of the whole of the revolutionary cause and only gears and nails in the whole of the revolutionary machine. He believed that this would resolve the issue of the place of literature and art in the whole of the party's revolutionary work.

This was the beginning where literature and art were subjected to political pressure in the revolutionary base area. Beginning at that time, creative freedom thereafter became even more forfeit, and literature and art thereafter became appendages of political propaganda. The purge of Wang Shiwei [3761 1395 0724] and the criticism of Ding Ling and Xiao Jun [5618 6511] were omens of a literary inquisition. Because in the Yenan period the flames of revolution were blazing, all those who joined the ranks of the revolution were immersed in the tasks of the struggle and did not have much time to probe earnestly into the party's policy on literature and art and the evil consequences that could occur.

After the founding of the PRC, political pressure on literature and art not only did not abate but increased. Hu Feng [5170 7364] summed up this kind of pressure in "Wuba Daozi" [Five Knives], and he submitted a written statement directly to Mao. Mao personally annotated the statement and treated it as a counterrevolutionary case, which resulted in Hu suffering grievous attacks.

Overthrowing Hu Feng and his "clique" proved that the CCP's relationship with literature and art was not one of political leadership but one of coercion by force. Power politics caused many authors to be beset with fear, to the point that literature and art were not only subordinate to politics but were subordinate to every word and deed of the CCP and its leading cadres. Under these conditions artists strove to make their own works conform to the specifications of the leaders, and from then on literature and art were reduced to being diagrams for policy. Artists did not reflect society's truths from real life, but twisted real life into a mold that corroborated policy. Society's true contradictions did not exist in literature and art because the leaders opposed the exposure of the dark side of society by literature and art. They formulated some set patterns and demanded that the artists describe the beauty of the new society and portray positive, heroic characters, and they forced artists to become cheering squads to sing praises. This universally produced formalistic, generalized dogmas similar to those refuted by Qin Beiyang [4440 0554 7122] and others in the late fifties.

In regard to the damage done to literature and art, this long-standing slogan, "literature and art serve politics," caused Ding Ling, Chen Qixia [7115 0120 7209], Feng Xuefeng [7458 7185 1496], Qin Beiyang, Liu Shaotang [0491 4801 2768], Shao Quanlin [6730 5425 7792], Kang Zhuo [1660 3451], Ba Ren [1572 0086] and others to be purged 17 years before the "cultural revolution." At the beginning of the "cultural revolution" this slogan was further developed into "develop and broaden." It refuted worship of the individual and became "literature and art must serve the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao." Thereupon, the literary and art bureaucracies that had purged others in the past, along with major and minor artists throughout the nation, suffered purges at the hands of Mao Zedong and the "gang of four," which ultimately brought about the situation of "model literature" where thousands of voices were muted. It was a mistaken slogan whose harm actually developed so thoroughly that it reached unprecedented peaks.

The ideological inertia in this great nation of China was terribly severe. Only after experiencing the miserable, bitter lesson of the cultural revolution were people compelled to begin to consider anew the slogan "literature and art serve politics."

Wang Ruoshui Asks the Question Well!

In recent years, especially in 1979 and 1980, literary and art circles within the nation have universally conducted extensive discussions on the relationship between politics and literature and art. In these discussions, people from the literary and art world have almost unanimously opposed the viewpoint of literature and art being a part of politics and the slogan "literature and art serve politics." With nearly one voice they have expressed the view that the relationship between literature and art is not a subordinate relationship but one of mutual effect. Literature and art have political tendencies, but they are not sermons for politics and certainly not slaves of politics. Although in the course of all the discussions no one openly

criticized those policies set forth by Mao at the Yanan forum, nevertheless, they have in fact repudiated those anti-Marxist and counterhistorical materialistic points of view.

As far as is known, however, among the multitudinous opposing views there was not one person who spoke as incisively as Wang Ruoshui.

In order to repudiate this theory of literature and art serving politics, Wang Ruoshui put forth an extremely interesting question. He said: "If literature and art serve politics, then what does politics serve?" This was indeed a piercing question. Does it mean to ask whether in literature and art serving politics, in education serving politics, in physical education serving politics, politics is thus paramount and nothing else can be substituted that would be served?

In thoroughly explaining points and on the occasions when people discuss anything as serving politics, they should change the word "politics" into "party," because the real meaning is equivalent to saying that, all in all, everything must serve the party. The party was paramount in the Mao era and it ultimately secured further supremacy for Mao, the party's leader, who became the sun god of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, in this case Wang Ruoshui took this disordered relationship and reversed it again, deeming that politics should serve the economy and, in the final analysis, serve the people. This is no different from producing another kind of association for the people: politics and the party are the same, not a relationship where one is supreme. In the end the party must be subordinate to the people and must serve the people. A party that does not serve the people in is already an alienated party, a party that has degenerated.

Although these associations are only extensions made after my reading of Wang's speech, he nevertheless did indeed speak so, saying that there is a time when politics does not serve its economic base and does not serve the people. He stated: "Since the founding of the PRC there have indeed been instances in which political power was indifferent toward its economic base, so much so that it did not hesitate to do great damage to that base. This political movement, the 'cultural revolution,' moved in the direction of going against the laws of economic development. In a political struggle that attacks everything, its own foundation is included. The power entrusted to the people was taken from their control and in turn much suffering was brought upon them." (emphasis added)

In this quotation of Wang's where he speaks of "political power" being indifferent toward its economic base to the point of severely damaging that base, it seems that he is not referring to the CCP or the CCP where Mao held power. What is he referring to? He is actually referring to the political power of Mao Zedong, the power that launched the "great leap forward" and the "three red banners," only to be "indifferent to the economic base" and "severely damage the economic base," the power that brought about the great famine in which for 3 years people all over the country ate white clay

powder. Later, it was also Mao's "political power" that launched the "cultural revolution," with its widespread indignation and discontent, and which brought China's economy to the brink of collapse.

Wang Ruoshui said it very well: "The 'cultural revolution' was not the problem of a few people. It was a problem of the party, a mistake made by the party." He also stated that despite there being resentment among some people at the time, at least in the very beginning, the "cultural revolution" emerged in the form of a mass movement on a grand scale, so everyone followed in its wake and made the mistakes. These kinds of views are much more realistic than those that merely push all the blame onto the "gang of four."

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CSO: 4005/920



## LITERARY TREND AFTER 'ANTILIBERALIZATION' DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING (CONTENDING) in Chinese No 6, 1982, pp 23-24

[Article by Lu Feng [6424 7364]: "The Literary Trend After 'Antiliberalization'"]

[Text] Two of the goals of this political movement were to warn writers that from now on they can no longer express views different from those in power in the CCP and to make those who would dare to tell the truth and dare to plead for the people cower in fear and hold their tongues. But what were the results? With this question in mind, this author took advantage of a return trip to Beijing to visit relatives and interviewed some old friends in the literary and art world in order to get an understanding of some trends there following the "antiliberalization" movement.

The CCP's "antiliberalization" movement was called off as early as the end of last year. Did this movement achieve the anticipated goals? The writers maintain that it did not. After the JIEFANGJUNBAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY] published an article critical of "Ku Lian" ["Bitter Love"], cries of rebuke arose from inside and outside the nation, so in August of last year a reevaluation of "Ku Lian" was used as the juncture for setting off the "antiliberalization" movement. One of its immediate goals was the hope that writers would engage in self-criticism and thus enable those in power to save face. However, many writers who were criticized by name, such as Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], Ding Yishi [0002 0001 4258], Wang Ruowang [3769 4627 2598], etc, had yet to engage in self-criticism. RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY] and Shanghai's WENXUE BAO [LITERARY GAZETTE] published reports of many authors from each province and city supporting the spirit of the Conference on the Question of Ideological Struggle and engaging in written self-criticism, but they did not publish reports concerning the status of the Shanghai writers' studies. This indicates that the Shanghai writers did not make a "show" that satisfied those in power.

Ba Jin [1572 6855] Fires a Blast

From 17 to 22 December last year, the second session of the third Chinese Writers Union was convened in Beijing. This was the first get-together of well-known writers from various localities since after the "antiliberalization" movement. On the last day of the conference, Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] and Zhou Yang [0719 2254] met with all the members. After listening to everyone's views, Ba Jin was elected chairman of the Chinese Writers Union. In his speech

he mentioned that he approved of the slogan "govern by inaction" and said there is no fault in this slogan. What writers write and how they write cannot add to "leadership." It is common knowledge that the term "governing by inaction" was long ago established by the famous article in the party organ, HONGQI [RED FLAG], and by the Shanghai party newspaper, JIEFANG RIBAO [LIBERATION DAILY], as being synonymous with "not wanting party leadership." Wang Ruowang, the Shanghai writer, was criticized by name for vigorously defending this slogan, and Ba Jin's public approval of this slogan undoubtedly embarrassed Hu Qiaomu and Zhou Yang. However, out of deference to Ba Jin's prestige, it was inappropriate for them to publicly "put on a rival show."

So Hu Qiaomu could only speak rather strangely, saying that "governing by inaction" is always better than "not governing by inaction" and "disorder by inaction," stressing either "govern" or party leadership. Zhou Yang followed, tactfully expressing a different view, stating that "I consider that, as a slogan, it is better than the one put forth by Comrade Xiaoping, 'don't cause interference.'" Nevertheless, even though Hu and Zhou were dissatisfied with this slogan, because of Ba Jin's position it was inconvenient for them to show explicitly opposing views. Thus, it was more difficult to criticize this slogan. Many authors mentioned in secret that they wished "governing by inaction" would be rehabilitated in the future. In published reports of related conferences, this view of Ba Jin's is closely guarded as a secret. In his speech at the conference Ba Jin mentioned the issue that must cause "young and middle-aged writers to have peace of mind when they create." This was obviously a hidden reference to the tense atmosphere brought about by the "antiliberalization" movement.

The methods of the CCP leaders concerned in their treatment of Ba Jin are very contradictory. On public occasions, the evaluation of Ba Jin is quite high. At this writers council meeting, Zhou Yang stated: "For many years Comrade Ba Jin has consistently been a true friend of the CCP, a nonparty communist. In his works he often warmly and sincerely reveals himself, but he never exaggerates that self. His self is closely linked with the people. The writings are like the man, and his works and his characters are respected and trusted by people. He stands as a model for authors." Nevertheless, even though the bulletin WENXUE SHU SHU [WINDOW ON LITERARY BOOKS], put out by the People's Publishing House, announced at the beginning of the year that volume 2 of Ba Jin's "Suixiang Lu" [Random Thoughts] was about to be published, to this day no trace of it can be found in big or small bookstores in any province or city throughout the country. This shows that it has yet to be offered for sale to the public within the nation. Originally, Ba Jin's views on some issues in volume 2 of "Random Thoughts" were poles apart from those of the CCP members in power. And Ba Jin prominently supported the stage play "Jiaru Wo Shi Zhende" [Suppose That I Am Real].

Ceng Yenxiu's [2582 1750 0208] Letter and Hu Yaobang's 7579 [5069 6721] Comments

On 12 July 1980, Shanghai's LIBERATION DAILY published an essay by essayist Feng Yingzi [7458 5391 1311] (deputy editor in chief of Shanghai's XINMIN WANBAO [NEW DEMOCRACY EVENING NEWS] entitled "I Want Some Spirit of Moving Mountains." What this essay criticized was the phenomenon of factionalism within the party. Since Feng Yingzi frequently publishes essays that remonstrate against the

ills of the times, this essay naturally touched the nerve of the ultraleftists. At the beginning of the "antiliberalization" movement, on 13 September, LIBERATION DAILY printed an essay signed by Zhen Qian [2182 0578] (deputy editor in chief of LIBERATION DAILY), entitled "I Also Want Movement." Without mentioning names, he stated that Feng Yingzi had the "bad habits of the old literati," only referring to the "Revolution of 1911" but not mentioning the "liberation of the entire nation in 1949," and he used to the utmost the weapons of labeling and bludgeoning. This affair aroused the anger of the literary and art world, and in particular it enraged Ceng Yenxiu, editor in chief of the People's Publishing House, who immediately sent a letter to Zhou Yang. The letter stated:

"Shanghai's LIBERATION DAILY published a short work by Feng Yingzi and recently it also published a severely critical work. I was dismayed. I read both pieces over and over, and from beginning to end I could find no fault with Feng's essay. However, the article criticizing him was really lamentable; there was no need to read further. If you're out to get someone, you can always trump up a charge. Its not that the higher plane of principle is too high, but rather that this is purely fictitious and is a trumped-up charge.

"So, this spirit of 'implementation' from the Central Committee forum indeed deserves attention.

"Since his youth, Mr Feng has followed, and been loyal to, the party for over 40 years. There has been conference after conference, people who have come and gone; he is one of the old innocents. His work is steady and he is not concerned with fame and fortune. How can slander and false charges be brought against such a dependable old friend of the party who is steadfast in his protection and who holds it so dear. . .?"

After reading over the letter, Hu Yaobang made some comments, stating that "Shanghai is a focus of attention inside and outside the country. Ideological literary and art criticism must be particularly cautious." From this affair it can be seen that if the ultraleftists attempted to start a flood with the dregs of the "antiliberalization" style, it would be very difficult. Those in the literary and art world who dare to speak are numerous, and authors certainly would not be reticent out of fear of suffering criticism. If the pressure of public opinion were great, then even those in power could not but reconsider.

#### Wang Ruowang Argues Strongly for Counter criticism Rights

Do mainland authors have counter criticism rights at present? This is an issue that concerns everyone. On this trip to Beijing this author also heard small tales about even Wang Ruowang's counter criticism articles meeting with adversity. On the basis of 30 years of experience, after any author is once publicly criticized by name by high-level leadership and party organs, his voice is stilled. As a rule, party organs will not permit publication of his counter-criticism. However, in the public speeches of CCP leaders or in editorials in party organs, they invariably profess they want to permit counter criticism and counter-counter criticism. What are the facts?

On 1 April last year that is, before the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY published an article criticizing Bai Hua [4101 2901], RENMIN RIBAO ran an article by Liu Mou [0491 2673], assistant manager of the literature and art office of the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee's Propaganda Department, which was entitled "Objection to the Kinds of Hired Help," and in "The Kinds...of Help," which was published in ANHUI WENXUE [ANHUI LITERATURE], criticism of Wang Ruowang was carried out on the higher plane of principle and the two-line struggle. Wang's writings called the ultraleftists in literary circles "hack" writers, and the Liu article claimed that this was spearheading "in the party's direction." Afterward, Wang wrote an article of counter criticism and mailed it to RENMIN RIBAO, but it was not published.

In the "antiliberalization" movement the criticism of Wang Ruowang by RENMIN RIBAO and WENHUI BAO, was led by a leading cadre from LIBERATION DAILY. In the Study Society of the Leading Party Group of the Literary Alliance in Shanghai, Wang Ruowang put forth his views of the criticism of the LIBERATION DAILY and defended the theory of "governing by inaction." When Yi Mu [0076 2606] heard this news he immediately wrote an essay entitled "'Current Events' and 'Face'," continuing the criticism of Wang. Thereupon, Wang wrote a counter criticism entitled "face and Literary Style" and mailed it to the LIBERATION DAILY. The LIBERATION DAILY not only would not print it, but on the day before returning the manuscript it published a long article jointly written by Yi Mu and another editor, Wan Shui [5502 3055], that criticized by name Wang Ruowang and "governing by inaction."

Not to be outdone, Wang added a preface and postscript to "Face and Literary Style," continuing the refutation of the Yi and Wan article, and he again sent it to the LIBERATION DAILY. It is alleged that before the manuscript was returned this time, Wang Wei [3769 4850], editor in chief of this paper, called Wang Ruowang and stated that the relevant upper levels of the leadership would not permit publication of his article.

In January of this year SHIYUE [OCTOBER], Beijing's large-circulation periodical, published an article by the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee in which Wang Ruowang was criticized. Its title was "Analysis of 'Fortify Successive Writings at Every Step'." Wang again wrote a counter criticism article and sent it to OCTOBER. The editor concerned actually became unpleasant, saying "publish it, and the Municipal CCP Committee won't let it go through. If it's not published, then what goes in the rejection letter?"

#### The "Contending" Column in ANHUI LITERATURE

After the "antiliberalization" movement, were even literary and art publications unwilling to publish counter criticism articles by authors who were criticized by name or articles in support of those who were criticized? Not so. ANHUI LITERATURE upheld the practice of supporting both sides and did not voluntarily wave in the "wind." In July of last year it published two articles of differing opinions toward Yi's and Hu's criticism of Wang Ruowang, and in November it also published Liu Jin's [0491 6855] self-defense article. This January it published articles with different views of both sides. In March of this year it carried Wang Ruowang's counter criticism article entitled "Answers and Explanations,"



which systematically answered and refuted the viewpoints of Yi Mu, Liu Jin, and the others who criticized him, and it particularly defended the theory of "governing by inaction." This was the first counter criticism article by Wang Ruowang published after he was criticized. What gives food for thought is that these kinds of articles are not given a speck of space in party organs, yet in ANHUI LITERATURE they are presented to the world. All things considered, this is a little like "let a hundred schools of thought contend."

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August 23, 1982